BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER
Edited by the Librarian

VOL. 39 MARCH, 1957 No. 2

NOTES AND NEWS

THE John Rylands Library since its inception in 1900 has carried out successfully the plan and purpose of its foundress depending almost entirely on its original endowment. In the inflationary period after the first world war pressure on its funds made itself felt, leading to economies involving, amongst other things, pruning down of staff and limitation of the purchase of books. The end of the second world war saw the pressure tightened, but with the generous aid of the University of Manchester its buoyancy returned for a brief spell. Now once again it is being submerged by ever rising costs and the Governors are faced with a growing annual deficit. To balance the budget the Council of Governors has been driven to invade a reserve fund all too inadequate for the purpose.

AN APPEAL FOR £100,000

Faced with this situation the Council is making a public appeal for £100,000 to help the Library out of its immediate difficulties. A much larger sum would be needed to put it on a sound foundation, but our awareness of the many demands being made on the purses of our friends has counselled moderation.

The fame of the John Rylands Library is world wide. It has rendered service to institutions and scholars in many lands and has in consequence many friends and well-wishers everywhere. To all who are well disposed towards it, the Library now makes its appeal. The need is great and assistance in raising the £100,000 will be most welcome. Donations and offers of help will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Librarian, The John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester 3.

In connection with the Appeal an exhibition has been arranged in the Main Library of selected items from two of our most famous collections, the Spencer early printed books and the Crawford manuscripts. The former, acknowledged as the finest private library in Europe at the time, was acquired from Earl Spencer in 1892. The latter comprises the manuscript portion of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, which, through the foresight and scholarly judgement of successive members of the House of Lindsay, had grown to 6,000 items, containing many rare texts and illustrating the history of writing and illumination in the principal oriental and western languages. It was purchased from the 26th Earl of Crawford in 1901.

THE CRAWFORD-SPENCER EXHIBITION: CRAWFORD MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscript exhibits consist of two cases of Western manuscripts (ninth-fifteenth centuries), two of Arabic, Persian and Turkish (ninth-seventeenth centuries), and one of outstanding codices from others of the fifty different languages and cultures represented in the collection. Twenty-seven illuminated texts are shown, of which a number have royal associations. These include a tenth-century Gospel Book executed at Trier for Otto III, a thirteenth-century Psalter owned by Joan, wife of Henry IV of England, and a thirteenth-century "Ṣaḥīḥ" of Muslim, in a fine Maghribi hand with over 1,500 sectional headings in gold, apparently written for a prince. The Arabic manuscripts also include a unique text (16th cent.) of a "History of Yemen" compiled by the 7th Sultān of the Rasūli dynasty, while among the Persian is a "Shāhnāma" of A.D. 1542 from the library of the dethroned King of Oudh.

Other illuminated manuscripts provide examples of the art of some half-dozen European countries, of Persia and of Turkey from the eleventh to the seventeenth century. From Germany are two eleventh-century codices, the "Moralia" of Gregory the Great and a Lectionary of 1026/68 from the Benedictine Abbey of Prüm. Italy is represented by a twelfth-century "Canons" of Burchardus, Bishop of Worms, and two fifteenth-century texts, the "Postilla" of the Franciscan Nicholas de Lyra, executed for Pandolfo dì Malatesta in 1402, and the

"canzoni" and "sonetti" of Dante and Petrarch; the last-named, which bears the Strozzi arms, was written either in Petrarch's lifetime or shortly after his death. Among the English manuscripts is an illuminated Sarum Missal (13th cent.), which appears to be the earliest known text of this use. Two examples of French thirteenth-century art are included, the "Joan of Navarre Psalter" mentioned above and a "Psalterium et Horæ", richly adorned throughout, which formerly belonged to Philip William, Count Palatine of the Rhine (d. 1690), to the Jesuits of Düsseldorf and the Bollandists of Brussels. Of other examples of Western schools of illumination there is space to mention only one: a Portuguese armorial emblazoned with some 250 coats of arms of princes and nobles attending the Council of Constance (1416).

The Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, over 2,000 in number, form the bulk of the Crawford Eastern manuscripts. They are rich in theological, historical and literary works and in treatises on law, philosophy, ethics and early science; in theology alone there are over sixty unique texts in Arabic. This collection, too, includes over thirty manuscripts of the Ḳur'ān of which three are exhibited: one in Kufic (9th/10th cent.), one in gold throughout, and one, trilingual, notable as containing an apparently unique translation of the sacred book of Islām into Eastern Turkish. Another unique text is the "Book of Religion and Empire" of 'Alī Ṭabarī, a semi-official defence and exposition of Islām written at the Court and with the assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil. Also from the theological section is 'Ubaidallah b. Muḥammad's "Book of Declaration"; this interesting manuscript, written not later than A.D. 1116, deals with the life and caliphate of the four Caliphs who succeeded Muḥammad. Geography is represented by Ḳazwīnī's "Marvels of Many Regions" in a text of A.D. 1582 taken from a transcript of the author's autograph, while from the illuminated Arabic manuscripts is shown an early thirteenth century text of Al-Ḥarīrī's "Assemblies" which contains more than 130 miniatures on its 171 folios.

From the Persian collection examples of miniature painting of the Timurid and Safawid periods have been selected, of

which perhaps the most striking are the " Shāhnāma " referred to above and two texts of Nizāmī, the earlier (A.D. 1444/45) having nineteen exquisite miniatures in the style associated with Shīrāz under its Timurid governor Ibrāhīm Sultān b. Shāh Rukh, the later (early 16th cent.) being in the court style of Shāh Tahmāsp. Although unadorned, a " Būstān " of Sa'dī is of note as having been written by a leading calligrapher at the court of Akbar the Great, Muḥammad Ḥusain of Kashmir. Examples of the works of all of the six greatest poets of Persia are displayed, Firdausī, Nizāmī, Rūmi, Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ and Jāmī. An illuminated codex of interest from the Turkish collection is the " Lailā u Majnūn " of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (d. A.D. 1501), executed in A.D. 1485 for the son of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā by one of the leading court artists. From the Hebrew collection there is a richly decorated early fourteenth-century Haggadah, probably from Spain.

A selection of the Biblical manuscripts on display includes Gospel Books in Syriac (6th cent.), Armenian (9th cent.), Latin (10th cent.) and Greek (11th cent.), a Coptic version of St Luke (7th/8th cent.) and a Samaritan Pentateuch of A.D. 1211, which is the earliest dated manuscript of the whole Samaritan Pentateuch outside Nablus.

Apart from manuscripts there are in the Crawford collection over thirty medieval jewelled bindings. One of these, encasing a thirteenth-century " Breviloquium " of St. Bonaventura, is displayed together with a sixty-century ivory panel from a book-cover ; the latter, which is of Egyptian or Syro-Mesopotamian origin, shows the Nativity and the Adoration.

THE CRAWFORD-SPENCER EXHIBITION: SPENCER PRINTED BOOKS

Of the five cases devoted to the Spencer Library, one contains woodcuts and blockbooks, three fifteenth century printing from Germany, Italy and England respectively, and one books of later date of particular interest either intrinsically or from their connection with the second Earl Spencer, who formed the collection. Since several recent exhibitions have been predominantly Biblical in character it has seemed proper to exclude from the exhibition items from the Spencer Biblical

incunabula, which include such treasures as the Gutenberg (42-line), and Pfister (36-line) Bibles, and the editions of Fust and Schoeffer, 1462, and of Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1471.

The outstanding woodcut displayed is the unique, hand-coloured *St. Christopher*, which bears in its legend the date 1423 and is thus the earliest piece of Western printing with an undisputed date. It was produced in the neighbourhood of Lake Constance and, about 1450, was pasted inside the boards, where it still remains, of a manuscript written in the Monastery of Buxheim. Other prints exhibited are a sheet with two woodcut roundels of the *Agnus Dei* and the *Manus Dei*, the latter unique, and an example of a " dotted " print, *Christ on the Mount of Olives*. Of the distinguished series of blockbooks from the Spencer collection four are shown. Two, which are of special interest, are of the *Apocalypse, with the Apocryphal life of St. John*, in the earliest version, believed to have been made in southern Germany or the Netherlands before 1440, and in a later, probably German, edition of about 1450. These are both coloured, and the latter, which also includes an uncoloured *Biblia Pauperum*, c. 1460, is encased in a fine pigskin binding bearing the name of the binder, Johann Reichenbach, the date of binding, 1467, and the name of the priest for whom the work was executed. This volume lies open at the second leaf of the *Apocalypse* so that it may be compared with a woodblock depicting that page, the only surviving example of a block made in the fifteenth century for the production of blockbooks. Other blockbooks included are a *Biblia Pauperum*, c. 1460, and a copy of the *Canticum Canticorum*, or prefiguration of the Virgin Mary from the *Song of Songs*, c. 1472, the finest of all blockbooks. With them is a copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in which certain pages have woodcut text beneath the illustrations while others have type-printed text. It belongs to the class of books known as " Costeriana ", thought to have been printed by Laurens Janszoon Coster of Haarlem, to whom, and not to Johann Gutenberg, one school of thought assigns the invention of printing from movable metal types.

Of German incunabula the earliest specimen exhibited is the *Indulgence* of 1454, from the Mainz press of the "Printer of the 42-line Bible" usually held to be Gutenberg, and with it three books from the closely associated press of Fust and Schoeffer. They are: the only complete copy of the 143-folio edition of the first dated book, the *Psalter* of 1457, the first printed classic, Cicero's *De Officiis* of 1465, on vellum, and the unique *Bul zu dutsch* of 1463, the first book with a title-page. The Latin *Biblia Pauperum*, c. 1462, is one of four books in the Library printed at Bamberg by Albrecht Pfister, first printer of illustrated type-printed books, whose work is not represented in any other collection in this country. The edition of Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio ad Terram Sanctam*, 1486, with its fine folding plates of towns on the route of the pilgrimage, is the work of Erhard Reeuwich of Mainz, while Augsburg, the chief centre of book-illustration in Germany, is represented by the *Speculum* printed by Gunther Zainer in 1473. Alongside the first edition of Vergil, printed at Strassburg by Johann Mentelin, probably in 1470, is an advertisement issued by the printer in 1471 for this and other books from his press.

The most beautiful printing of the fifteenth century came from Italy and no finer example could be exhibited than the Cicero, *De Oratore*, the first surviving book from that country, printed by the two German printers, Sweynheym and Pannartz, who established a press in the monastery of Subiaco in 1465. The Spencer collection is particularly rich in first editions of classical authors and examples exhibited include the first Horace, Venice, [1471?] and the first printed Greek text, an edition of the *Batrachomyomachia* of Homer, printed at Brescia in 1474 by Thomas Ferrandus. The latter, with an interlinear literal Latin translation and a poetical translation on the opposite leaf, may be described as the first "crib". Also displayed is the only complete copy of the first illustrated book printed in Italy, *Meditationes de vita Christi*, by Cardinal Turrecremata, printed by Ulrich Han at Rome in 1467, which contains woodcut copies of frescoes placed in a church in Rome by Turrecremata. Interesting examples of cartography are two editions of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*; one, printed on vellum

by Leonhard Holle at Ulm in 1482, contains the first woodcut maps, the other, the work of Arnoldus Buckinck at Rome in 1478, has copper-plate maps.

The display of early English printing is of especial interest. From the Library's collection of sixty-three Caxtons are shown the first book in English, *The recuyell of the histories of Troye*, c. 1474, printed at Bruges in association with Colard Mansion; the first dated book printed in England, *The dictes or sayengis of the philosophres*, 1477, with its unique colophon; the famous *Advertisement*, 1477, in which Caxton advertised one of his books of which only fragments survive; the unique *Death-bed prayers* [c. 1484], and the illustrated *Golden Legend* of 1483. Other English printers represented are Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's successor, with the unique *Morte d'Arthur*, 1498, the Schoolmaster-Printer of St. Albans, with *The bokys of hauking and huntyng*, 1486, which contains the first English colour-printing, Lettou and Machlinia in London, and Rood in Oxford. The beautiful Sarum *Missal*, 1500, printed on vellum in black, red and gold by Richard Pynson, at the expense of Cardinal Morton, is considered the finest production of the fifteenth-century English press.

Of books of later date space forbids the display of more than a handful, chosen arbitrarily. These include the Vergil of 1501, on vellum, the first book in *italic* type, representative of the Library's unique collection of nearly 800 works from the Aldine press; the presentation copy to the King of Hungary, on large vellum, of the book which earned for Henry VIII the title of "Fidei defensor", the *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, 1521; the "First Folio" edition of Shakespeare's plays, 1623, and the first edition of his *Sonnets*, 1609; the first "Prayer Book" of Edward VI, 1549; and a group of books showing the influence of the Renaissance in this country. With them are seen two examples of "Grangerization" or extra-illustration, Clarendon's *History of the rebellion*, in the three-volume edition of 1807, which Lord Spencer, by the addition of 3,200 contemporary engravings, extended to twenty-one volumes, and an edition of Shakespeare's *Works*, with notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, to which the latter added many

illustrations and which he bequeathed to Lord Spencer. The illustration at which the volume lies open has topical interest; it is the frontispiece of a volume, printed in 1636, describing the Olympic games promoted in the Cotswold Hills by Robert Dover two centuries and a half before Baron de Coubertin revived the Games as we know them.

CRAWFORD MUNIMENTS: ADDITIONAL DEPOSIT

Since the publication of the previous BULLETIN, further additions have been made by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres to his Scottish and English muniments deposited in the Library. These include, among family correspondence and papers, some eighty letters (1731-68) of James, 5th Earl of Balcarres, covering a variety of topics—family, personal, economic and military—among his correspondents being Stair, Rothes, Elibank, Ilay, General Bland (C.-in-C. of the forces in Scotland), and David Hume, who writes (1754) following the publication of his *History of England*. The 5th Earl fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy and a number of his letters were written while he was campaigning in Flanders in the 1740s. As he also took part in the 1715 Rising it is interesting to find among his papers "An Account of the Killed, Wounded and Prisoners of the King's Army at the Battle of Dumblain", sent from Edinburgh to an unknown correspondent nine days after the battle. He has left, too, a genealogical and biographical account of his family, mostly holograph. Further military records of the distinguished soldier John, 20th Earl of Crawford (d. 1749) are also included, among them ten manuscript volumes relating to the Flemish campaigns (1742-48) in which he participated and others dealing with the art of fortification or containing orders of battle, plans of encampments and notes of troop movements. With them may be mentioned a volume of "Orders of the Day" for the Scottish command, 1746. Among earlier items is the original warrant (10 June 1661), signed by Charles II and Lauderdale, for recording and appending the Great Seal to the patent of 9 January 1651 by which Charles had conferred the Earldom of Balcarres on Alexander, Lord Lindsay of

Balcarres; Alexander, a firm supporter of the King, had joined him in exile and was his Secretary of State for Scotland.

With the above, Lord Crawford has also deposited Keith and Muncaster papers. The former consist of some 250 items, of which the bulk concerns Sir Robert Murray Keith (d. 1795), who from 1769 to 1792 represented his country at Dresden, Copenhagen and Vienna. Keith is perhaps best known for the assistance he rendered Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark, sister of George III, during the troubles of 1772. These and others of his diplomatic activities are reflected in his correspondence and papers, which range from 1759 to his death and include over ninety full and informative news-letters. Among his correspondents are his father ("Ambassador" Keith), his sister Anne (through whom these papers may have come into the Crawford Muniments), Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwick (who in 1782 married Elizabeth, daughter of the 5th Earl of Balcarres), Henry, Earl of Suffolk (Secretary of State for the North), Pitt, and the Foreign Secretary, Carmarthen. Mrs. Gillespie Smyth consulted certain of these letters for her *Memoirs* (1849) of Keith and among papers of hers which came with them are three letters of Sir Walter Scott (1818-27). The Muncaster Papers consist of an extensive collection of letters, documents and manuscript volumes relating to John Pennington (d. 1813), created 1st Baron Muncaster in 1783, whose only surviving child married the 24th Earl of Crawford in 1811. More than half are estate and business records respecting family lands in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, but also in the deposit are eighty-nine letters (1735-48) to Muncaster's mother and 150 letters and drafts in Muncaster's hand, many of political interest; among the correspondents are the (3rd) Duke of Grafton, Pitt, the Irish political writer Sir Richard Musgrave and Wilberforce. The manuscript volumes cover many subjects. Six contain miscellaneous political memoranda, eleven are diaries (1796-1813) and in one are Muncaster's own copies of letters (1773-74) respecting the 37th Foot, of which he was Colonel. Through his daughter, Maria, records of the family of her maternal grandfather, James Compton, and of the Nicholas family, who married into the Comptons, passed

into the possession of Lord Crawford. These are also represented in the accession. The Compton Papers are not numerous but contain eighteenth-century records of naval interest. The Nicholas Papers, fifty in number and dating between 1638 and 1701, are mainly political or personal; the greater part consists of letters and documents of Sir Edward Nicholas (Secretary of State to Charles I) and his family.

Individual items of interest which do not belong to any of the above groupings include a seventeenth-century Lute Book, the letter (July 1649) of James, Earl of Derby to General Ireton refusing to surrender the Isle of Man, a contemporary copy of a letter from Washington to Robert Cary & Co., 5 July 1761, and the draft of an oration on the abolition of the slave trade apparently intended for delivery before the French National Assembly by Mirabeau, who has made numerous alterations and copious marginal additions to it throughout.

CRAWFORD BROADSIDES: ADDITIONAL DEPOSIT

In our last issue details were given of a number of broadsides, many from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which had been deposited in the Library by Lord Crawford. Since that time Lord Crawford has placed the Library still further in his debt by the deposit of two additional groups of material, the one consisting of proclamations, indulgences and almanacks, mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and complementary to the previous deposit, the other a fascinating collection of early playing cards, for the most part in sheets.

The earliest piece of printing is a proof pull of fol. xxxv [sig. d5a], of the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus de Comestor (H. 5531, B.M. II, 319), printed at Augsburg in 1473 by Günther Zainer. The Rylands copy of the work has seven corrections from the proof, while one further error has crept in. Of the eight broadsides printed before 1500 only two are religious documents, in marked contrast to the predominantly religious character of those in the earlier deposit. A fine indulgence, on vellum, relating to the defence of Rhodes against the Turks, was granted by Count Rudolf von Werdenberg, brother of the

Order of St. John, and printed by Johann Bämler at Augsburg in 1481 [*Einbl.* 1506]. The only other copy recorded is at Worms, the Reichling reference being to this copy when offered for sale by Jacques Rosenthal, the Munich bookseller, from whom Lord Crawford purchased it, with many other broadsides, in 1893. The other religious item is an edition of *Modus promerendi indulgentias sacre Cruciate*, printed by Peter Schoeffer at Mainz, c. 1489 (*Einbl.* 1010). There are three imperial proclamations of Frederick III, the earliest being a large sheet bearing three distinct decrees directed to the town of Erfurt concerning the dispute with Diether von Isenberg, Archbishop of Mainz, printed by Konrad Kachelofen at Leipzig shortly after 2 May 1480 [*Einbl.* 604]. Two later decrees of the same Emperor concern his quarrel with Charles VIII, King of France. *Einbl.* 626, a general demand for assistance in the war, is dated 11 February 1493, and was printed at Basel by Michael Furter, while *Einbl.* 627 is a similar demand for assistance, bearing the same date and also printed by Furter, addressed to the Emperor's son, Maximilian, King of Rome. A proclamation issued by Maximilian himself concerns the profanation of the name of God and was printed at Cologne by Hermann Bungart after 7 August 1485 [*Einbl.* 921]. One other copy, preserved in the Staatsarchiv of Vienna, is recorded.

Two fifteenth-century almanacks have presumably been recovered from bindings for each is defective, a strip having been cut away across the middle. The earlier [*Einbl.* 287], in German, is for the year 1494 and was printed by Kaspar Hochfeder at Nuremberg. A copy of this almanack was reproduced as no. 83 in the Heitz-Haebler *Hundert Kalender-Inkunabeln*, 1905. The second almanack is headed by a woodcut, 270 mm. wide and 95 mm. deep, and has in the left-hand margin a border, closely resembling that used by Leonhard Ysenhut in 1499 (*Heitz-Haebler* no. 98*b*), but without labels. In Latin and calculated for the year 1499 and for the city of Mainz, it was probably printed in that city either by Peter Schoeffer or Peter Friedberg, and is not recorded in the catalogue of *Einblattdrucke*. Two broadsides which may be of the fifteenth century, or possibly of the early sixteenth century, are a small

slip (text, 80 × 64 mm.) on which is printed what appears to be an advertisement for, or instructions for, taking certain pills, and a large vellum sheet, 408 × 267 mm., *Tabula indicans de die ī diē per singulos años qua hora ꝙbusue minutis sol oriaſ̃. . . .*

Among the broadsides purchased from Rosenthal in 1893 is a facsimile of the *Kalender* of 1439 of Joannes de Gamundia, which appears as no. 1 in the Heitz-Haebler reproductions. Of a French almanack for 1520, printed in red and black, only a fragment, the months of September, October, November, and December, survives. At the foot is part of the imprint, *. . . nct Jacques a l'enseigne de Ll . . . e sauuaige* [?]. To the next century belongs the calendar of Johann Gigas, *Münsterische Almanach auff das Jahr . . . M. DC. XXXXVI. Getrückt zu Münster in Westphalen Bey Bernardt Rassfeldt.* It is printed on a large sheet, 943 × 409 mm., and is bordered on both sides and at the foot by coats of arms, while at the head, below the dedication to the Bishop of Münster, is an elaborate woodcut incorporating the arms of the see. This, and also the typographical border and many of the shields, have been crudely coloured by hand.

A most interesting sixteenth-century broadsheet contains the 40 theses which Martin Luther wrote in 1530 in answer to the efforts which were being made to explain away as unimportant the religious differences then existing. The theses first appeared as an appendix to Luther's *Ein Brieff an den Cardinal Ertzbischoff Mentz*, of which three editions in pamphlet form were issued in 1530/31, two appearing in the Crawford Lutheran collection deposited in this Library. In exhibiting this broadsheet to the Society of Antiquaries in 1896, W. G. Thorpe suggested that Luther had it printed in this form so that he could carry copies with him on his preaching tours and display them on church doors. He claimed that, so far as he could ascertain, his copy, which Lord Crawford subsequently purchased, was unique.

The collection also includes a fine English broadside printed by Richard Pynson, *c.* 1520. It is in 105 lines, measures 397 × 273 mm., and is an indulgence of Pope Leo X in favour of an unnamed hospital, a confirmation and extension of one

issued by earlier Popes. It seems certain that the hospital was in Rome, for earlier indulgences could only be granted in Rome itself while the present indulgence authorizes its use by priests travelling abroad. It is probable that the statement that the hospital served, amongst others, " pylgrymes passynge by dyuers countres " would also place it in Rome. The striking woodcut of the descent of the Holy Spirit with which the document opens would suggest the dedication of the hospital. It is possible that we have here a copy of STC 15479, of which the British Museum possesses a fragment, although the entry implies that " Hospitall of the holy Ghoste " is a quotation.

The examples of early playing cards range in date from the early part of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. Among those designed for educative purposes the two possessing the greatest interest are a series of twenty-four seventeenth-century cards from Desmarest's *Cartes des rois de France* and a set of cards, probably by Geoffrey King, designed to teach heraldry, which has been assigned to the year 1686 but is probably earlier. These, with the broadsides already described, form a most valuable addition to Lord Crawford's earlier deposits.

DANTE EXHIBITION

In October 1956, as part of the celebration of the jubilee of the Manchester Dante Society, an exhibition of editions and translations of the works of Dante Alighieri, mainly printed but including a few manuscripts, and of Danteana, was arranged in the Main Library and in the Bible Room. The nucleus of the Rylands Dante collection, numbering over 7,000 items, was provided by two great libraries, the general collection of Lord Spencer and the specialized collection of Count Giuseppe Landi Passerini, founder and editor of the *Giornale dantesco*. The greater part of the collection, consisting of over 5,500 volumes, was brought together by Passerini and comprises editions and translations of the *Divina commedia* and other works of Dante from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, and biographical, critical and iconographical works relating to Dante. The Spencer contribution is numerically small—only fifty items appeared in the printed catalogue

issued before the Library's opening—but it contains many of the most precious editions of the works of Dante, including eleven of the fifteen editions of the *Divina commedia* issued in the fifteenth century, while later editions include a fine copy on vellum from the Aldine press, 1502, and twenty-seven editions printed before 1629.

In the first case were exhibited the three Dante manuscripts in the possession of the Library. In the lower borders of a beautifully decorated fourteenth-century volume which contains the " canzoni " of Dante and, in the same hand, the " sonetti " of Petrarch, appear the arms of the Strozzi, the work having been executed for a member of that family. Manuscripts of the *Divina commedia* belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively; it appears probable that the latter was copied from a printed edition. With them were shown the first three printed editions of the *Divina commedia*, the *editio princeps* of Foligno, 1472, and the editions of Venice and Mantua of the same year, and the Naples edition of 1477, probably printed by a Jew, concerning which Dr. Cecil Roth contributed an article to the last issue of the BULLETIN.

The Passerini collection added three to Lord Spencer's fifteenth century editions of the *Divina commedia* and the only *lacuna* in the series is the Naples edition of Del Tuppo, probbably printed in 1478. Three cases were devoted to the Library's remaining ten editions of the period, including the De Spira edition of 1477 in which the poet is first described as " Divo ", and the finest known copy of the Florentine edition of 1481, the only edition printed before 1500 in Dante's hometown. In this edition it was intended to illustrate each canto with a copper-plate engraving, possibly by Baccio Baldini, after drawings by Botticelli. The printer soon outstripped the engraver, and after Inferno II spaces were left in which engraved strips were to be pasted. The project shortly broke down completely and there is no illustration after Inferno XIX. The Rylands copy has the illustrations for the first nineteen cantos, with an additional engraving for the third canto; no other copy has more than nineteen and some have as few as two. Of the editions illustrated with woodcuts the earliest is that of

Brescia, 1487, the remaining four being printed in Venice in March and in November, 1491, and in 1493 and 1497.

A case of sixteenth century editions included that of Aldus of 1502, previously mentioned, with a counterfeit issued at Lyons in the same year, and the Aldine edition of 1515 with two counterfeits, one printed at Toscolano by Alessandro Paganini. Of the 1544 edition two copies were shown, one, as is usual, having the omitted verses from Purg. II added by means of hand-printing, the other an extremely rare uncorrected copy. Also shown was the edition of Venice, 1555, in which, for the first time, the epithet "Divina" is applied to the "Commedia". The cases of editions from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries contained many of great textual importance, as well as many collectors' pieces, such as the copy on blue paper of the edition of Rome, 1791-92, the fine Bodoni edition of 1795 with an inserted leaf reading "42. Milord Spencer, conte inglese", and copy no. 1, on vellum, with the arms of Lord Spencer printed beneath the title, of Pickering's edition of 1822-23. Illustrated editions shown included that known as *The Anchor*, Florence, 1817-19, that of Milan, 1864-66, reproducing fifteenth-century woodcuts, and that of Gustave Doré, Paris, 1868, while modern fine-printed editions included those of the Ashendene Press, 1902-05, on vellum, and of the Eliot Norton translation with reproductions of the Botticelli drawings, which was designed by Mr. Bruce Rogers.

Another case contained the earliest English translations, *The Inferno*, 1782, by Charles Rogers, *The divine comedy*, 1802, by Henry Boyd, and the *Inferno*, 1805, and *The vision*, 1814, by Henry Francis Cary, as well as the outstanding translations in many other languages. Minor works of Dante were well represented by the *Convito*, printed at Florence by Francesco Bonaccorsi in 1490, the *Rime*, Florence, 1527, and the *Vita nuova*, Florence, 1576, with many other editions and translations, and the exhibition was rounded off by a representative selection of books on Dante and his works and times, particularly of those published in the fifty years since the Society was formed.

RECENT LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS

The following is a list of recent Library publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the last issue of the BULLETIN (September 1956):

"The Divine Colloquy in Islam." By A. J. Arberry, Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 27. Price three shillings net.

"Notes on the Opening of the 'Bronze' scrolls from Qumran." By H. Wright Baker, Professor of Mechanical Engineering in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 12, with three plates. Price two shillings net.

"Lady Mary Wortley Montagu as a Friend of Continental Writers." By Robert Halsband, Assistant Professor of English, Hunter College, New York City. 8vo, pp. 18. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

"John of Roquetaillade." By E. F. Jacob, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. 8vo, pp. 22, with one plate. Price three shillings net.

"The Early Printed Versions of Medieval German Heroic Literature." By K. C. King, Head of the Department of German in the University of Nottingham. 8vo, pp. 35. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

"Peter the Venerable." By M. D. Knowles, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 14. Price two shillings net.

"The English Cistercians and the Bestiary." By Fr. John Morson, O.C.R., Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, Leicestershire. 8vo, pp. 25. Price three shillings net.

"The French Revolution and the Grain Supply: Nationalization Pamphlets in the John Rylands Library." By R. B. Rose. 8vo, pp. 17. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"A Jewish Printer in Naples, 1477." By Cecil Roth, Reader in Jewish Studies in the University of Oxford. 8vo, pp. 12, with two plates. Price two shillings net.

"The Marriage of Hosea." By H. H. Rowley, Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 34. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

"The Maurist Correspondence of Abbot Robert Bootz of Himmerod." By Dr. Ambrosius Schneider, S.O. Cist., Himmerod Abbey, Germany. 8vo, pp. 10. Price two shillings net.

"The Mechanics of Law Making Today." By B. A. Wortley, Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 27. Price three shillings net.

PRINTED BOOKS: GIFTS AND EXCHANGES

Since the last issue of the BULLETIN the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library, and to them the Governors offer grateful thanks:

Individual Donors

Dom H. Ashworth.
Miss M. L. Benson.
Dr. S. A. Birnbaum.
Mrs. Bessie White Bloom.
V. E. A. Bowley, Esq.
Dr. W. Brockbank.
Dr. Curt F. Bühler [4].
Signor F. Castelli.
Marcus Cunliffe, Esq., M.A.
Dr. R. Dickinson.
Dr. Hellmuth Dietmar.
Monsieur M. Dykmans.
Ludovic A. Forbes, Esq.
J. Ford, Esq.
Dr. Israel Goldstein.
Herr C. Habersaat [3].
J. Jaffe, Esq. [4].
H. P. Kraus, Esq.
The Librarian [3].
H. Mandal, Esq.
R. F. Metzdorf, Esq.
Monsieur E. Mikkers.
Mohammad Naguib, Esq.
Professor J. Morgenstern.
Dr. Francis Neilson [2].
R. C. Pennefather, Esq.
Dr. Oskar K. Rabinowicz [2].
Miss D. U. Ratcliffe (Mrs. I. McGregor Phillipps).
Cecil Roth, Esq.
Professor H. H. Rowley, D.D., F.B.A. [3].
L. Sinclair, Esq. [5].
Dr. Walter Till.
Professor Eric G. Turner.
The Rev. Father G. Van Ackeren.
The late Dr. A. P. Wadsworth.
Edward Walker, Esq. [20].
R. Walmsley, Esq.
Paul Winter, Esq. [5].
Herr H. Wolter.
His Excellency the Ambassador for Italy (Count Vittorio Zoppi).

Institutions

Aberdeen University Library [2].
Aberystwyth : National Library of Wales.
American Catholic Philosophical Association.
Amsterdam : Rijksmuseum [3].
Bangalore : Indian Institute of Culture [8].
Basel University Library [11].
Berlin : Staatliche Museen : Ägyptische Abteilung [2].
Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville [2].
Birkenhead Public Libraries.
Birmingham University Library.
Bogotà : Instituto Caro y Cuervo [30].
Bristol Public Libraries.
British Academy.
British Council.
Bruxelles : Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie.
Buenos Aires University Library.
Cairo : Service des Antiquités [2].
Canada : United Church : Archives Committee.
Canadian Journal of Theology, Editor of [2].
Cape Town : National Gallery [2].
Cetinje : Istoriske Institut [4].
Chronica Botanica, Editor of [2].
Clermont-Ferrand : Académie [2].
Columbia University Libraries [2].
Comillas : Library of the Pontifical University [2].
Copenhagen : Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab [4].
Copenhagen University Library [2].
Djambatan Ltd., International Educational Publishing House, Amsterdam.
Durham University : King's College Library, Newcastle.
Edinburgh University Library [4].
Erlangen University Library [2].
Ferrara : Cassa di Risparmio.
Florence : Kunsthistorisches Institut [6].
Glasgow University Library.
Gothenburg University Library.

Groningen University Library [10].
Halle : Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek.
Hamburg : Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek.
Helsinki : Academia Scientiarum Fennica [6].
Helsinki : Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura [2].
Helsinki University [17].
Hueber, Max, Verlag, Munich.
Ibadan : University College Library.
Illinois University Library [2].
International Labour Office [5].
Ismaili Society, Bombay.
Jewish Historical Society of England.
Kansas Academy of Science.
Kentucky University Library [3].
Lancashire County Council : County Record Office.
Leeds University Library.
Leiden University Library [9].
Leningrad : Academy of Sciences [8].
Linz : Oberösterreichische Musealverein.
Lisbon : Academia Portuguesa de Historia [4].
Liverpool University Library.
London : Courtauld Institute of Art [2].
London : Dr. Williams's Library [3].
London University : School of Oriental Studies.
Louisiana State University Library.
Louvain University Library [6].
Manchester : Chetham's Library.
Manchester Corporation.
Manchester Public Libraries.
Manchester University Press [10].
Massachusetts Historical Society [2].
Mendoza University Library [6].
Mexico : National University : Faculty of Jurisprudence.
Michigan University Library [3].
Minnesota University Library.
Montpellier University Library.
Munich : Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften [2].
National Register of Archives [30].

New York University Library [14].
New Zealand : High Commissioner in London.
Notre Dame University Library [15].
Organization for European Economic Co-operation.
Ottawa : Collège Dominicain.
Pavia University Library.
Penguin Books, Limited.
Pilgrim Trust.
Pretoria : South African Reserve Bank.
Pretoria : Staatsbiblioteek [2].
Queensland University Library.
Reading University Library.
Rome : Istituto Carmelitano [3].
Rome : Istituto Storico Domenicano.
Rome : Pontificio Istituto Orientale [20].
Saint Andrews University Library.
Saint Louis : Washington University Library [2].
Salamanca University Library [4].
San Marino : Henry E. Huntington Library.
Sarajevo : Oriental Institute [4].
Sarawak Museum.
Sheffield City Libraries.
Sheffield University.
Simon and Schuster Incorporated, New York.
Skoplje : Institut de l'Histoire Nationale [6].
Societas Theologorum Polona, Warsaw [5].
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Stanford University Library [2].
Steenbrugge : Sint Pieters Abdij.
Stockholm : Kungliga Biblioteket.
Strasbourg University : Faculté des Lettres [6].
Sydney : Public Library of New South Wales.
Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie [3].
Tucuman University Library.
United States of America : National Archives [5].
Uppsala University Library.
Uppsala University : Exegetiska Seminariet.
Utrecht University Library [4].

Vatican Library.
Vienna University Library.
Warsaw : Biblioteka Narodowa.
Washington : Catholic University of America [7].
Washington : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library.
Williamstown : Chapin Library.
Yale University Library [2].
Zagreb University Library.

In addition to these donations many learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

THE WORK OF A LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH SCRIBE, WILLIAM EBESHAM [1]

By A. I. DOYLE, M.A., Ph.D.,
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN, DURHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

TWO of the best-known documents of the Paston collection are a pathetic letter and a lengthy bill from one William Ebesham, recording various scribal tasks undertaken for Sir John Paston the elder, with payments received and outstanding, ending with those for a " Grete Booke " of which some contents are specified.[2] This was apparently the volume which occurs some years later in an inventory of Sir John's books,[3] and it has been identified with an extant manuscript, Lansdowne 285 in the British Museum, though not without question.[4] It is my purpose here to show that the evidence of the extent of Ebesham's work for the Pastons, and for the identity of the " Grete Booke " with Lansdowne, has been hitherto incompletely presented, and

[1] The author is glad to acknowledge the generous assistance of the Durham Colleges' Research Fund in the preparation of this paper and particularly in bearing the greater part of the cost of illustrations.

[2] B.M. Add. MS. 43491, fols. 12-13 : ed. J. Fenn, *Original Letters*, ii (1787), 10-17 ; J. Gairdner, *Paston Letters*, v (1904), 1-5, no. 695, from Fenn, who also gives a facsimile of the signature of the letter, i, Pl. v, no. 20, and the watermark, Pl. x, no. 7, the latter corresponding with Fig. 22, in use in England c. 1450-75, of E. Heawood, " Sources of early English paper supply ", *The Library*, 4th ser., vol. 10, pp. 282-307. The mark of the bill, Fenn's Pl. x, no. 1, is Heawood's Fig. 18, in use c. 1444-86. For a concordance table of the numeration of Gairdner's editions see H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England* (1922), pp. 265-75.

[3] Gairdner, vi. 66-7, no. 987, from Fenn, ii. 300, with doubt as to which John Paston. Mr. A. J. Collins has, however, settled from the original (B.M. Add. MS. 43491, fol. 26) that it is in the hand of the first Sir John (d. 1479) : see *Annual report of the Friends of the National Libraries*, 1933-4, p. 20, revised from an article in *The Times*, 7 July 1933, pp. 15-16. It includes Caxton's *Game of Chess*, printed c. 1474/5 at Bruges ; " my boke of knyghthode " (etc.) is an addition.

[4] *Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS.*, ii (1819), 99-102, at first followed by Gairdner, as by Bennett, op. cit. pp. 112-13. Gairdner subsequently had doubts though he could not gainsay Ebesham's hand in Lansdowne : see edn. v, 1, n. 2, and introduction to *Sailing Directions* (Hakluyt Society, 1889) ; followed by C. F. Buhler, *Modern Language Notes*, 56 (1939), 345-51, though the latter does not seem to have seen the manuscripts.

also to describe a number of other previously unnoticed products of his pen, with supplementary records of his career and context.

I

The letter, which Sir John Fenn, the first editor, did not quote in full, on the grounds that it merely duplicated the information of the bill, and which in consequence was not amplified in James Gairdner's several editions (not in fact being available until the British Museum's acquisition of the original in 1936),[1] seems on inspection (see Plate I) to have been written at a somewhat earlier date, since its details do differ from those of the document with which it has been coupled.[2] If one takes the items of the bill in order, comparing them with those of the letter in question, together with evidence from several others and the make-up of the supposed surviving Great Book, the chronology and character of Ebesham's work become clearer, though there still remain some difficulties, due probably to the uncertainty of his memory and the inadequacy of his mode of accounting.

1. For copying "a litill booke of pheesyk", at some indefinite time in the past before either letter or bill, Ebesham had received 20*d.* from "Sir Thomas Leenys" (a priest mentioned without surname in the letter as Sir John's intermediary) "in Westm[inster]".[3]

2. For copying half "the prevy seal" (presumably the warrant, September 1464, for the foundation of Caister College

[1] See Collins, loc. cit. and A. Esdaile, *The British Museum Library* (1946), pp. 283-4.

[2] Professor Norman Davis, who will shortly print the full text of the letter, has observed that some notable variations of spelling between it and the bill are such as are more likely if the two were separated by some interval: *writyn/wreetyn, phisyke/pheesyk*, and the form *Leenys* for *Lynys* (see next note), evincing the same preference as appears in the specimens *seemplesse* found in Lansdowne MS. 285 and *seemple* in Add. MS. 10106. Other abnormal spellings are *hier* and *thies* in both Add. and Rylands MS. 395. *Ebsham* in the letter and Rylands stands against *Ebesham* in the bill and Lansdowne, and Sir John's *Ebysham*, whereas in the later Westminster documents it is *Ebsam*.

[3] Transcribed *Leevys* (= Lewis) by Fenn, necessarily repeated by Gairdner, but without identification. *Leeuys* or *Leenys* in the original, obviously the Lynes, Lyndis, etc., mentioned as in the Pastons' patronage *c.* 1465-9, ed. nos. 610, 637, 657, and as dead by March 1470, ibid. 742, 805.

under Sir John Fastolf's will, or else that of July 1466 for the admission of Paston to his father's estates)[1] he had received 8*d.* from Pampyng, another of Paston's agents, who must have done the other half himself, since the letter says " with " him.[2]

3. For doing the whole again, on paper according to the letter (as if the previous one were on parchment), 20*d.*, but according to the bill 2*s.*, received from Sir Thomas, a discrepancy possibly due to payment by and confusion of instalments ; in any case the respective sums suggest that the previous " half " had been a very rough estimate.

4. For copying on parchment eight of " the grete witnesses at the first tyme ", in the words of the letter (referring to the depositions in the litigation concerning Fastolf's will, 1464-7, either at the first hearings or else for this first transcription),[3] at the rate of only 14*d.* each, he had received 10*s.* from Sir Thomas, though 9*s.* 4*d.* would be the precise settlement.

5. For doing urgently, at the cost of late nights as the letter pleads, the privy seal twice more on paper and once on parchment, along with three (in the letter but by the bill one) of the longest witnesses again (and various other writings, by the bill), he had been promised 10*s.* by Richard Calle, Paston's bailiff, but had had only 4*s.* 8*d.* (4*s.* 4*d.* in the bill, but obviously in error as the remainder is there, too, given as 5*s.* 4*d.*). All this is said in both documents to have taken place while Sir John was overseas " in midsummer term ", that is during June and July 1468 (for the marriage of the Princess Margaret of York to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy),[4] thus giving us not only a *terminus a quo*

[1] Ed. cit. iv. 113-16, no. 571, and 246-7, no. 641, more probably the former.

[2] Professor Davis points out that his hand is common in the Paston letters, mainly on behalf of John I.

[3] Cf. ibid. pp. 101-4, no. 565, April-December 1464, from Phillipps MS. 9309, now Bodleian Top. Norf. c. 4, by more than one hand on paper, none Ebesham's, I think : statements said to be taken in the presence of Nicholas Parker, notary and scribe, but possibly recopied. Also no. 639, pp. 236-45, of May-June 1466, from B.M. Add. MS. 27450 which is by one hand (of one Bodleian scribe ?). There is mention of witnesses going up to London in February 1467, nos. 661, 663, and in April (?) William Paston writes to Sir John there " And have newe wretyn the attestacion that lakkyn. The same man that wrott the oder may wrythe that " (ibid. p. 274, no. 664).

[4] Cf. ibid. pp. 296-9, nos. 683-4.

but also *ad quem* in dating, for the phrase, being employed without qualification, suggests that they were written before the corresponding period of the next year.

6. The bill, however, not the letter, acknowledges an extra unattached payment of 3*s.* 4*d.* at Westminster by Sir Thomas on 30 October " anno viij " (i.e. of Edward IV, 1468), which probably implies that it was drawn up in a subsequent regnal year, commencing in March, and therefore as much as six months after the letter. At least the addition of this dated transaction indicates some interval between them. It may indeed reflect a half-hearted response to Ebesham's appeal from sanctuary, presumably that of Westminster abbey, where he had taken refuge, his terms and tone lead one to surmise, from his creditors or worse !

7. For two quires of the witnesses embraced in (5) by the letter it adds an apparently inconsequential claim of 3*s.*, although it further specifies that they contained twenty-eight leaves at 2*d.* a leaf. The bill which, as noted above, omits some such quantity from that item, here states an independent and accurate charge of 4*s.* 8*d.* One can only suppose that in the letter Ebesham was making some concealed and complicated apportionment of his demands and receipts, in relation to his needs and hopes.

8. As for the Great Book, the letter speaks of it in the present tense and claims 14*s.* for seven quires, " the third parte of the seide boke " in Ebesham's estimate (" I wote wele ", coming again in the last paragraph as a very conventional and unconvincing asseveration). His forecast that the " remenant " would be in five, albeit approximate, must mean not only that the work was still incomplete but also that at least as much again is unaccounted for. This is borne out by the greater detail of the bill, in which charges for twice as many quires appear, yet not all. Examination of B.M. Lansdowne MS. 285 in terms of the bill reveals a reason for this, and answers the question of its being the Great Book more exactly than previous comparisons.

The first sum under this head is 2*s.* 2*d.* for " the Coronacion & othir tretys of knyghthode in that quaire which conteyneth A xiij levis & more " at 2*d.* a leaf : corresponding closely with

gathering *a*, fols. 1-12 of Lansdowne, where the last item runs on to fol. 14r.[1] Then there is 10*s.* for " the tretys of werre in iiij bookis which conteyneth lx levis " at the same rate, identifiable with gatherings *h-m* (5 × 12), of which only fols. 83r-137r contain Vegetius *de re militari* in English, by the same hand as the first quire of the volume and with the words " Quod W. Ebesham " after the translator's colophon (see Plate IIA), while fols. 137r-141r carry another piece in the same script and fols. 141v-142v are blank.[2] The next item in the bill, forty-three leaves of the Epistle of Othea for 7*s.* 2*d.*, is not now to be found in Lansdowne, but it may well never have been bound up in the Great Book, since it occurs separately in Sir John Paston's inventory of less than ten years later.[3] Then follows 4*s.* 8*d.* for " the Chalengis and the Actis of Armes " totalling twenty-eight leaves, and in the quires *b-g* which include matter that might be so described, fols. 14r-42r, just over that number, and fols. 47r-55v are by Ebesham's hand (disregarding the run-on from quire *a*), the latter batch being perhaps added later or otherwise accounted for, as will be argued below, while the remainder are by other hands, or additions or blanks. The penultimate charge is 3*s.* 9*d.* for forty-five leaves, " Aftir A peny a leef, which is right wele worth ", for *de Regimine principum:* that is, not Egidius Romanus but Lydgate and Burgh's verse rendering of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*, which occupies fols. 155r-199v, precisely forty-five,[4] of quires *o-r*, the rest being blanks and the explanation of the lower price that the stanzaic form, shorter lines and ampler spacing involve only about half as much writing as on the prose pages of the volume. These facts are sufficiently concordant to confirm the customary identification, and any contradictions can be met without going even so far as Gairdner's

[1] There are at first two and later three divergent sequences of foliation: a medieval roman one up to *Cxliiij*, continued by a sixteenth-century hand, here quoted in arabic notation; a post-medieval arabic series counting the first flyleaf; and another modern arabic one in pencil which omits some blanks. The first conforms best to the medieval collation, *a-r*12, except c10.

[2] 58½ leaves by Ebesham, 55¼ being Vegetius: only 53¼ by Dr. Buhler's calculations.

[3] Buhler, *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* (E.E.T.S. 1939), p. xlvi, grants that the same copy may be meant, though reluctantly.

[4] Gairdner and Buhler say forty-four only.

supposition that " Ebesham may have written out the items only from memory ",[1] but rather by the unstated particulars of the commission.

Now it appears from the letter, as already noticed, that the Great Book was at that time still in process of copying, whereas by the time the bill was drawn up it must have been virtually complete, as 3*s.* 4*d.* " for the Rubrissheyng of All the booke " is the last item there, though it is possible that this was a lump sum rather than a piece payment, especially if Ebesham did it all himself, which seems likely since rubrication in Lansdowne is limited to underlining. The flourishing of initial letters in blue and red was normally a specialist's job and would have been charged separately by number and size.

The totals at the foot of the bill, divided into " Summa resc[epta] " 22*s.* 4*d.*, and " Summa non soluta " 41*s.* 4*d.*, tally with the figures given above, except for the words written in a smaller but obviously the same script (and more or less simultaneously) after the second sum : " unde pro M[agno] libro script[o] xxvijs. cum div[ersis ?] chal[engiis ?] ", or alternatively " cum dim[idio] chal[engiorum] ".[2] This is impossible to explain by any simple computation, deducting any of the items mentioned, such as that for the rubrication, but as the charges for the Great Book apart from the challenges and acts of arms (4*s.* 8*d.*) add up to 26*s.* 5*d.*, it may mean that these were in part held over for separate settlement, either because there was still some to be done (and it has been shown that Lansdowne contains rather more by Ebesham's hand of that sort than he accounts for), or, compatible with that, because the work was shared with someone else ; either or both might be implied by the readings proposed.

Further collation of Lansdowne MS. 285 confirms some of these conjectures. The quire-signatures are contemporary and consecutive throughout the fifteenth-century portion of the volume (up to fol. 199 inclusive), but it is divisible into seven booklets : [3] (i) sig. *a-b*, fols. 1-24, items 1-18, all by Ebesham's

[1] *Sailing Directions*, p. 8.

[2] Gairdner at first expanded Fenn's reading " cum diurnali chalengio " but changed to " diversis chalengiis ", ibid. p. 6 n.

[3] The items numbered as in the *Catalogue*, loc. cit.

hand ; (ii) sig. *c-d*, fols. 25-46, items 19-42, with different ruling but by the same hand up to fol. 42[r] (the end of item 37) and additions by another hand on that page and by a second on the rest ; (iii) sig. *e*, fols. 47-58, items 43-5, by Ebesham up to fol. 55[v], the remainder originally blank but now partly occupied by a later table of contents (item 45) ; (iv) sig. *f-g*, fols. 59-82, item 46, by a different hand ; (v) sig. *h-m*, fols. 83-142, items 47-8, again by Ebesham up to fol. 141[r], the rest blank ; (vi) sig. *n*, fols. 143-54, items 49-53, of which fols. 144[r]-153[v] are by the same hand as fols. 42[v]-46[v], fols. 153[v]-154[r] (item 52) by another and fol 154[r-v] (item 53) by still another, contemporaneous, while fol. 143 is lost ; (vii) sig. *o-r*, fols. 155-202, item 54, by Ebesham to fol. 199[v], the remainder blank. The rest of the volume is mainly by sixteenth-century hands, outside our scope.

Of these sections (i)-(iv) include matter that may be called challenges and acts of arms, of which (ii) is partly and (iv) wholly by other hands than Ebesham's, and likewise (vi), of military interest. It seems that the part of (ii) not by Ebesham, all (iii) by his hand, and (iv) and (vi) are not mentioned specifically in the bill, let alone the letter. Now in a letter written in October 1469 from London to Margaret Paston in Norfolk Sir John says " Item iff Ebysham come nat hom with myn oncle W(illiam) that than ye sende me the ij Frenshe bookys that he scholde have wretyn that he may wryght them her ".[1] This, of course, may not refer at all to the Great Book but some other task, yet it is perhaps more than a coincidence that sections (ii) and (vi) of Lansdowne are partly and (iii) and (iv) wholly, so far as the original hands are concerned, in French (i.e. fols. 25[r]-28[r] and 42[v]-82[v]), while the letter just quoted may afford an explanation of the bill's inconclusiveness. Ebesham may have been saved from his plight at Westminster and sent to Norfolk earlier in 1469, but failed to copy the two French books then, and it was anticipated that he might return with William in October,

[1] Ed. cit. v. 63, no. 736, with a misprint of *be* for *he*. The king's entry into London, which it describes, took place after 7 October : see C. L. Scofield, *Life and Reign of Edward IV*, i (1923), 503. Professor Davis kindly supplies a sentence only summarized by Fenn and Gairdner, to show that William was also in London : " thys daye or to morow he comyth homwards. He and I be as good as fallyn owt. . . ."

although in the event he may not have done. This interpretation is based not simply on phraseology but equally on the discovery by Professor Davis of a letter from William from Norwich dated 7 April, without a year but more probably 1469 or 1470 than any later one, which is entirely written in Ebesham's distinctive script.[1] Thus we know that he was employed by the Pastons in both the capital and the provinces and it is conceivable that at some stage it may have been more convenient to get the missing portions of the Great Book completed by other hands. It is also possible, in view of the uniformity of the paper,[2] that Ebesham himself deputed a share of the work.

Not only can there be no doubt concerning Lansdowne MS. 285 that, as Gairdner thought, " the greater part of the contents was written by William Ebesham ",[3] but there is direct evidence of its original ownership in the words " quod Sir Jhon Paston " following *Le statut des armez de turney par le parlement dengleterre* (item 38) which has been added on the bottom half of fol. 42r.[4] This is not the autograph of either the first or second Sir John, for it does not agree in any respect with the plentiful extant examples of their hands, even allowing for the amateurish bastard style here adopted.[5] And there is certainly no reason to attribute

[1] Our judgement formed from a photostat of the original, now B.M. Add. 34889, fol. 215: ed. cit. v. 230-1, no. 869, dated 1475 by Gairdner, as Margaret was at Mautby, which however seems to have been so too in 1469, on 3 April (no. 704). 1470 is possible, with nothing positive in its favour, and would involve duplicating or transferring Ebesham's visit. The only point for 1475 is the mention of the Prior of Bromholm's renewed application for money: cf. his representations about John Paston I's tomb-covering in no. 878 of that year. It should perhaps be noted here that Ebesham's tenancy at Westminster is recorded from 1475, but the silence at other times will be shown to be of no force as to his presence there.

[2] Heawood, loc. cit. p. 295 and Fig. 71, in use c. 1450-75.

[3] *Sailing Directions*, pp. 3-4.

[4] A corrupt copy of an undated statute temp. Edward I (c. 1292?); *Statutes of the Realm*, i (1758), 200-1; i (1810), 230.

[5] For this judgement, besides Gairdner's opinion, *Sailing Directions*, pp. 4-5, I have the helpful confirmation of Mr. G. R. C. Davis of the Museum. R. J. Mitchell, *John Tiptoft* (1938), pp. 101-4, alleges that Lansdowne " includes Tiptoft's *Justes and Triumphes* [i.e. his orders as Constable of England, 29 May 1466] written out in what is believed to be Paston's own hand "; but neither the item in question, nor any other in the volume, is Tiptoft's any more than the hand is Sir John's.

to the same person, as the Lansdowne catalogue does, the two quite distinct clerical courthands responsible for extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Ranulph Higden (items 52-3) on fols. 153^{v}-154^{v}, possibly prior in time to item 38. Gairdner's proposal that the passage on fol. 42^{r} might be an extract from another of the Pastons' books is persuasive, if we suppose that it was dictated or communicated to the copyist by one of the Sir Johns.

It is noteworthy that the first ten items of section (i) are also found, though in a different order, in a closely comparable collection, Pierpont Morgan MS. 775, which contains Stephen Scrope's version of Cristine de Pisan's *Epistle of Othea* (as intended for the Great Book) and both items (47-8) of section (v) of Lansdowne, as well as the *Secrees* (item 54). The common texts which have been printed or collated differ in such a way that an immediate joint source would be likely, if Lansdowne is not actually (as some readings suggest) derived from the Morgan manuscript, which was apparently made or augmented for Sir John Astley, a Warwickshire gentleman, whose own acts of arms (1438-42) are in both volumes, before 1461.[1] The most recent

[1] His armorial bearings occur several times in the margins and miniatures, with a label of difference, so before his father's death, and without the Garter, which he received in 1461 (see W. Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), p. 73). Scrope's version of *Othea* was probably made between 1450 and 1460 (see K. Chesney, *Medium Aevum*, vol. 1, pp. 38-40, and Buhler, op. cit.). Burgh completed Lydgate's *Secrees* after the latter's death (1449?), and his *Parvus* and *Magnus Cato* probably before that. Two poems on the coronation of Henry VI (C. F. Brown and R. H. Robbins, *Index of Middle English Verse*, nos. 1224 and 1929), presumably selected before his first deposition, 1461, do reappear in Lansdowne (which can hardly have been still on the stocks at the time of his restoration in 1470?), but with variants indicating its inferiority and probably direct dependence: as do such repetitions as "Vamborugh" (for Bamburgh) in the *Sailing Directions*. A. Way, *Archaeological Journal*, 4 (1847), 226-39, judges the texts in common "more ancient" than the Lansdowne copies printed by F. Douce, *Archaeologia*, vol. 17 (1814), pp. 290-6. For fuller description of the volume and its owners, with extracts and facsimiles, see Viscount Dillon, ibid. vol. 57 (1900), pt. i, pp. 28-70, and, particularly for subsequent pedigree, Messrs. Sotheby's sale catalogue, 30 September 1931, lot 7; cf. S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval & Renaissance MSS. in U.S.*, pp. 1501-2. W. H. St. J. Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen & Designers* (1931), p. 131 and Fig. 64, dates the arms and manuscript as c. 1420, surely a misprint (cf. his *Garter stall-plates in St. George's Chapel, Windsor*); E. Rickert, *Chaucer's*

events, however, recorded in section (i) of Lansdowne, the challenges of Lord Scales, the Bastard of Burgundy and others, 1465-7 (items 12, 15-18), are not in Morgan, nor those of May 1467 and July 1468 (items 20-37 and 19) in section (ii), the last being an episode of the festivities in Flanders attended by Sir John Paston that " midsummer term ". Sections (iii) and (iv), perhaps the bulk of the two French books from Norfolk left till the last for incorporation in the Great Book, contain cognate matter of 1446 and 1462 not present in the sister or parent volume. Appropriately enough the ownership of Lansdowne MS. 285 passed to a line of heralds who added many pieces to it. The first of these, to all appearances, Thomas Wriothesley (Garter King 1504-34) could have got it direct from the second Sir John Paston (d. 1503).[1]

II

Of the four pieces of Ebesham's writing treated so far, the two letters are naturally the least formal in character (as declared, too, by cancellations); the bill, set out more carefully, is nearer the manner of some of the better English passages of the volume, which, however, through the length and range of its texts in three languages, prose and verse, displays a considerable variety of size, shape and fluency, in parts inferior to the execution of the documents, as must be expected of almost any cursive script employed for literary purposes but not primarily designed nor solely used for them. If one looks at it letter by letter, and

World (1948), Plate opposite p. 156, temp. Hen. VI; M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages* (1954), p. 200 and Pl. 179, dated *c.* 1470, as *Census*. The main script is a good mid-century book-hand; Astley's own acts of arms are by another; his escutcheons added too?

[1] Owners listed by Gairdner, *Sailing Directions*, pp. 9-10. Wriothesley became Wallingford herald in 1489 (see A. R. Wagner, *The Records & Collections of the College of Arms* (1952), pp. 8-10). His arms and name occur in B.M. C. 10. b. 23, Caxton's *Game of Chess* (1474/5?), with a contemporary list at the end of " the names of the banerettis made at the batell of stooke " (1487), of which there exists a copy made by the younger Sir John Paston (Gairdner, no. 987). The coincidence has occasioned the conjecture that this is the actual copy of the *Game* in the elder Sir John's inventory, pursuing the same descent as Lansdowne, on which Wriothesley's crest, initials and style (as Garter) occur in the same fashion; cf. College of Arms Arundel MS. XXVI, reproduced in the Heralds' *Commemorative Exhibition Catalogue* (1936), p. 47 and Pl. 31.

likewise ligatures, abbreviations and punctuation, taking the scale in relation to the space and style with contents, bearing in mind the versatility of a practised and prolific scribe and the eclecticism with regard to native and foreign models at this period, one can see that there is an essential and indeed conspicuous integrity beneath the diversity of Ebesham's writing; and from these cases proceed with some confidence to identify his hand in other manuscripts made at different times, with different materials, embracing different matter and envisaging different readers.

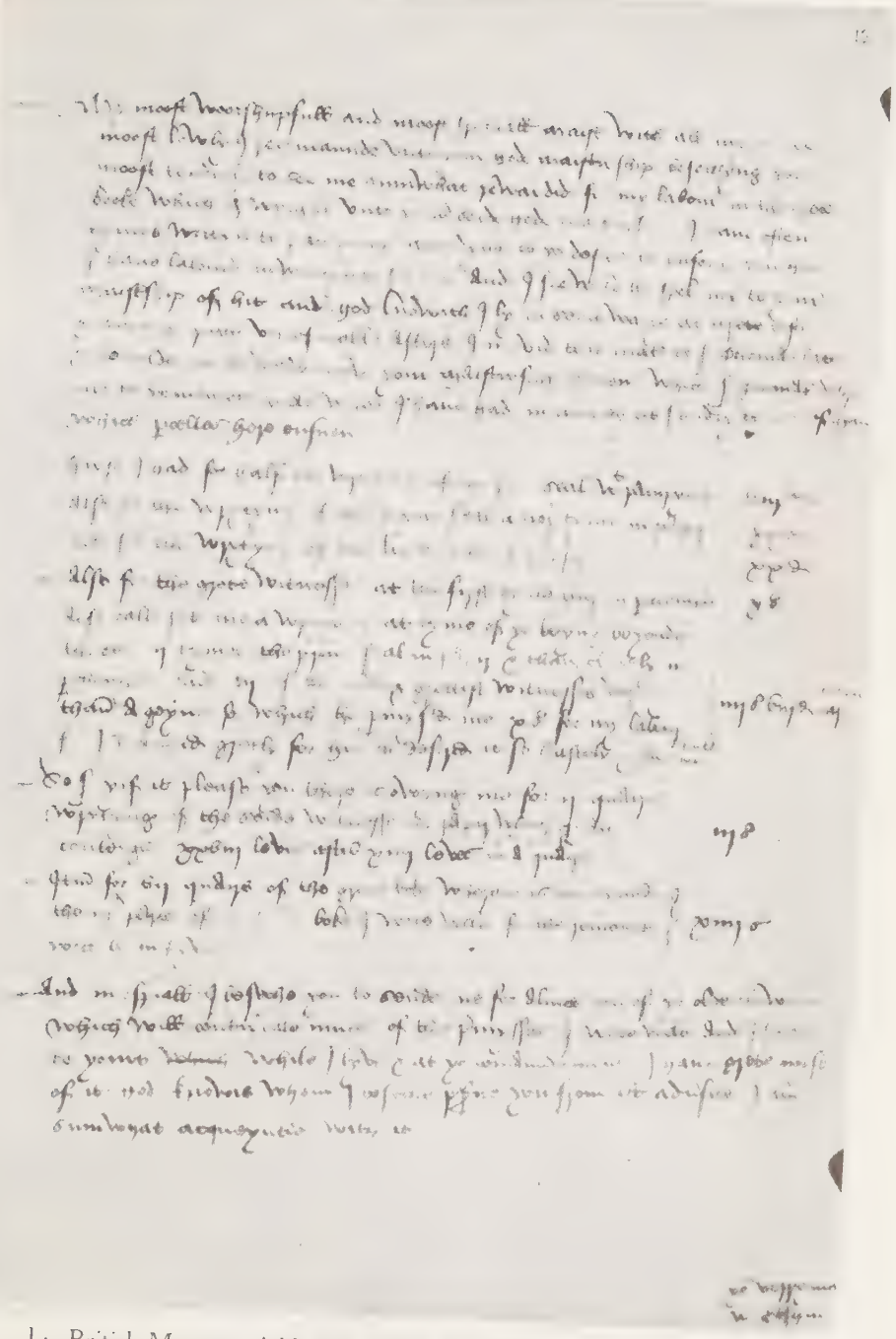
To demonstrate these contentions it will be best to start with a book not next in strict chronological order but bearing an explicit claim to be Ebesham's, at least in part, and superficially sufficiently remote in appearance from the bulk of the work so far considered as to be a suitable bridge to the other extreme of his style.

RYLANDS LATIN MS. 395 is a volume smaller in format (8 × 5 inches) than Lansdowne MS. 285 (12 × 8 inches), of composite vellum and paper gatherings, all except the last four (*h* 20, *j* 18, *k* 10, *l* 6) of twelves, with watermarks of the second half of the fifteenth century.[1] The writing is adapted to the predominantly Latin theological contents and affected by the physical conditions: it is vertically compressed and laterally spread, with a pronounced rightwards slant and angular strokes, showing some of the simplifications from recent continental influence in certain letter forms. Yet occasionally, especially in the English items, the native rotundity and relaxedness of the documents and most of Lansdowne reappear, though Ebesham's French passages in the last-named book are distinctly modified in the direction of the Rylands Latin (cf. Plates IVA and III).

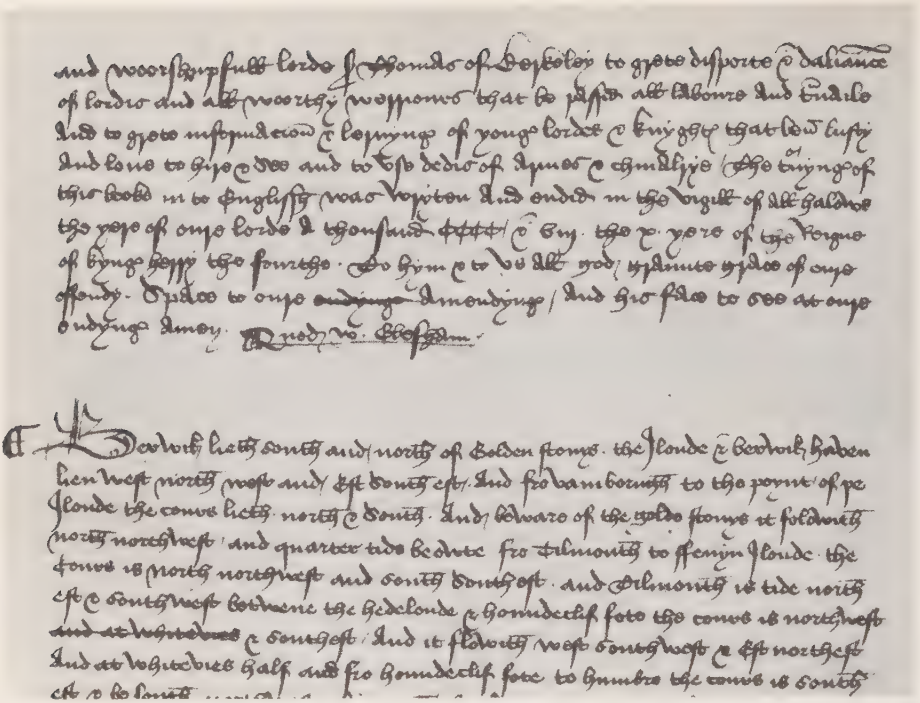
The contents include three works of Richard Rolle;[2] extracts from SS. Bonaventure, Augustine, Mechtild (of Hackeborn), Catharine (of Siena, in English), Brigit (of Sweden), etc.; a note *de S. Katherina* (of Alexandria); the pseudo-Bonaventuran

[1] Heawood, loc. cit. no. 81, in use c. 1473-89, of a type assigned by C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, to the third quarter of the century; and others.

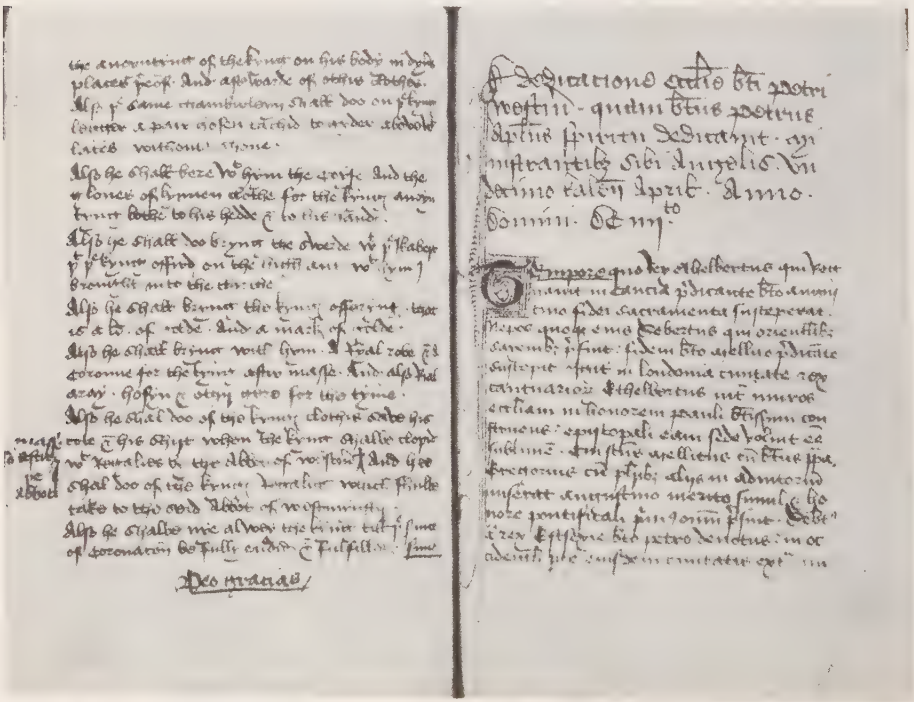
[2] See H. E. Allen, *Writings attributed to R. Rolle* (1927), pp. 66, 205, 218. Cf. M. Tyson, *Handlist of additions to the Latin MSS.* (1928), reprinted from BULLETIN, vol. 12, p. 604.



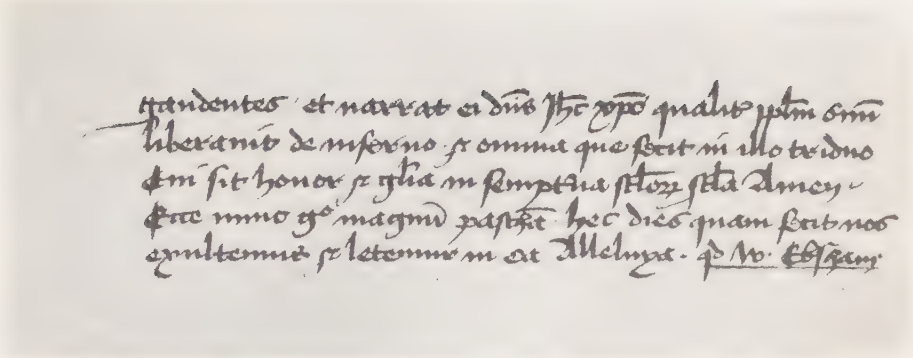
1: British Museum, Add. MS. 43491, fol. 12r., approx. 1/2 actual size.



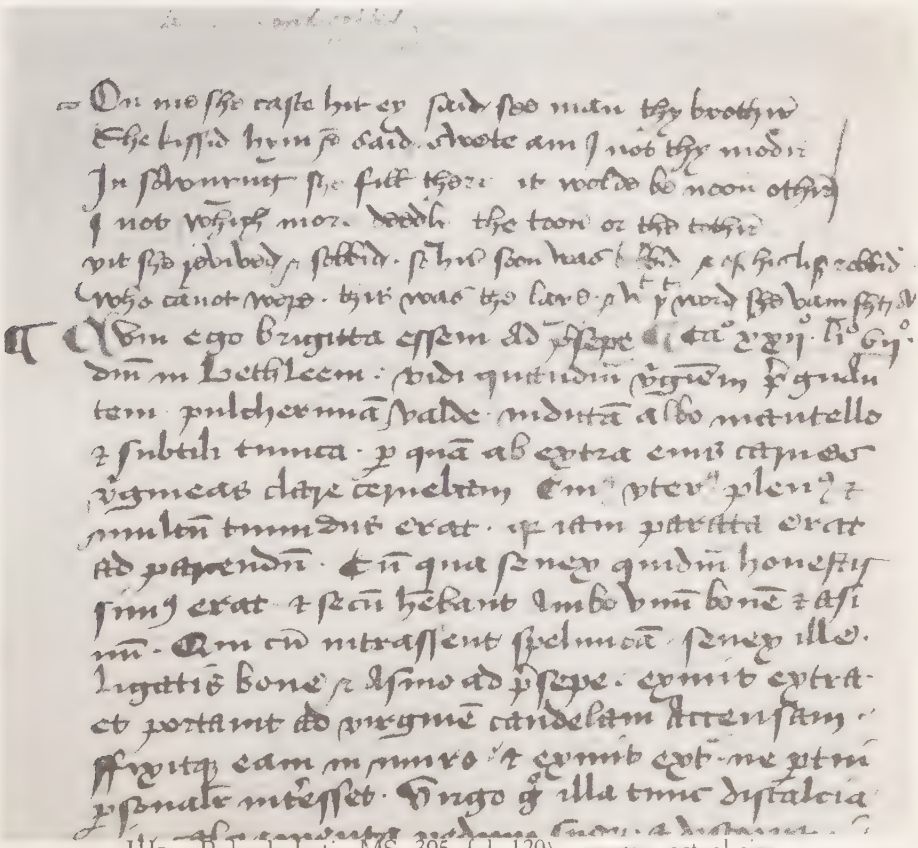
IIA : British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 285, fol. 136r., top half, approx. 3/4 actual size.



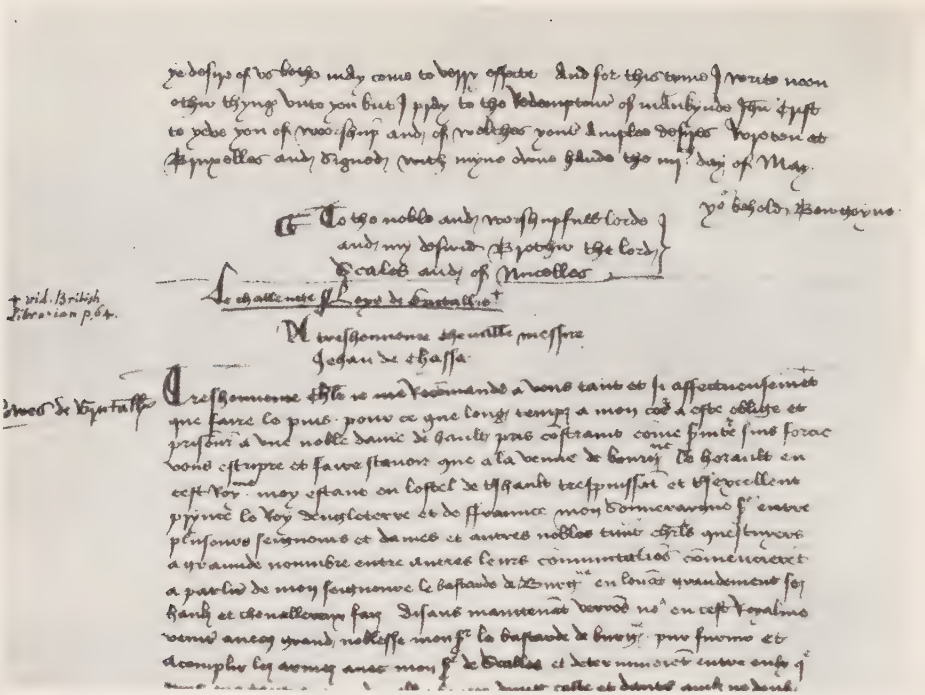
IIB : British Museum, Add. MS. 10106, fols. 30v. and 31r., approx. 2/3 actual size.



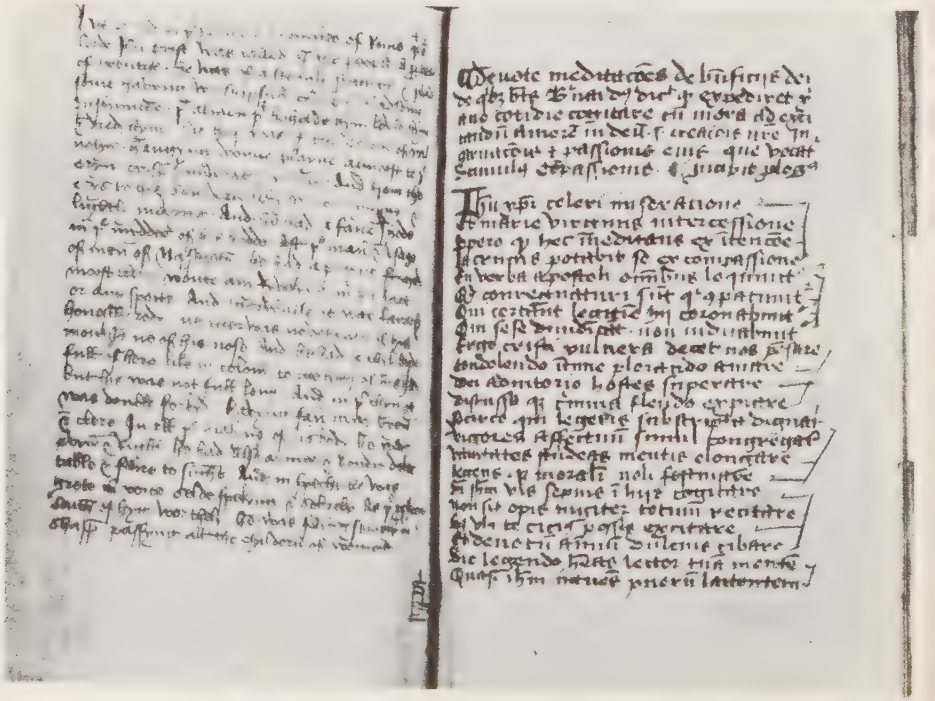
IIIA: Rylands Latin MS. 395, fol. 117v., first five lines, actual size.



IIIB: Rylands Latin MS. 395, fol. 120v., approx. actual size.



IVA : British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 285, fol. 22v., top half, approx. 2/3 actual size.



IVB : British Museum, Add. MS. 10106, fols. 49v. and 50r., 2/3 actual size.

Meditationes passionis Christi; three pious English poems [1] and six questions and answers on tribulation by six "masters of the Court of Rome" in English prose; [2] further passages from the Revelations of St. Brigit, *de Vitis Patrum*, etc.; *legenda S. Sampsonis* (of Dol); one stanza of an English poem on the Blessed Virgin; [3] an extract from Grosseteste's Latin version of the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs; and one of the three known copies of the *Propositio Johannis Russell*, Edward IV's ambassador for the admission of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, to the Order of the Garter in 1470 at Bruges, printed in Caxton's second type either there or at Westminster between 1475 and 1478; [4] with a manuscript note about sin on the first blank page (fol. 141[r]), and a list of *Autores Biblie* commencing at the end of the printed text (fol. 144[r]) and running on to fol. 145[v], both these by the same hand as the rest of the collection. Originally, and until about the end of the eighteenth century, the unique surviving copy, now B.M. IA 55065 (unfortunately incomplete), of an edition of the office of the Visitation of Our Lady printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1480 was also part of this volume.[5] Just as on the Rylands

[1] Brown and Robbins, op. cit. nos. 339, 4163, 4189: the first two unique, the last only otherwise in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 0.9.38, a Glastonbury monk's collection, *c.* 1500, with Oxford and London links.

[2] Varying from the usual version found in a dozen manuscripts and printings by Caxton and De Worde (ed. C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, ii (1896), 390) nor the same as that in St. John's College, Oxford, MS. 147, fols. 124[r]-125[r] (see below).

[3] *Index*, no. 1460 (ed. C. F. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the 14th Century* (1924), p. 236, lines 81-8).

[4] See E. G. Duff, *Printers of Westminster & London* (1906), p. 9; *15th-century English books* (1917), no. 367; the facsimile of this copy ed. H. Guppy (1909) and *Catalogue of the English Incunabula in the John Rylands Library* (1930), p. 73, assign it to Bruges *c.* 1476. L. A. Sheppard, "A new light on Caxton and Colard Mansion", *Signature* (new ser.), vol. 15 (1951), pp. 28-39, contending that the French items in Caxton's types 1 and 2 were actually printed by him rather than Mansion, at Bruges *c.* 1473 onwards, allows the same possibility for the *Propositio*, though not part of his case. C. F. Buhler, *The Library*, 5th ser., vol. 8, p. 54, n. 1, remarks that "it is now generally conceded that the book was printed at Westminster", which is accepted, with the date *c.* 1477, in the British Museum General Catalogue for its recently acquired copy, formerly at Holkham with the only other traceable besides the Rylands one.

[5] Duff, no. 148; S. De Ricci, *Census of Caxtons* (1909), no. 43, gives no pedigree before the Museum's purchase in 1851. Rylands MS. 395 is identified,

Propositio, so here too Ebesham has copied memoranda, in Latin verse, below the conclusion of the printing and on the next leaf (the present fols. 6^{v}-7^{r}), unmistakeable in script.

At the end of the *Meditationes* in Rylands, fol. 117^{v}, occurs the phrase " quod W. Ebsham " (see Plate IIIA) and although " quod Stevens E " comes a couple of leaves later, fol. 119^{v}, it is after one of three English poems the writing of which is even more plainly than in the Latin that of Lansdowne and the letters (cf. Plate IIIB, top half, with I and II,) and demonstrably mixing the features of both styles. The second name must therefore be, like Sir John Paston's in Lansdowne, that of the transmitter, previous copyist or author of the item (a unique copy) to which it is appended; and in fact there was an Edmund Stevyns, gentleman, of London, recorded in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and buried in the Charterhouse in 1517.[1]

Professor Margaret Deanesly has stated that the writing of the *Incendium Amoris* in Rylands, which she assigns to the early fifteenth century (not noticing the scribe's name), is " very similar if not the same as that of the Comment on the Canticles " in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS. 35, a highly important

ibid. p. 91, with item 5658 of T. Osborne's sale catalogue [of the libraries of H. Finch, 4th earl of Winchelsea and others ?], 1758, vol. i. p. 172, which I have been unable to find in the British Isles or United States. In the front of the manuscript, however, is an extract of item 3258 in Osborne's *Catalogue of the Libraries of Mr. Dongworth, Dr. Green, H. Anderson . . . to be sold . . . till 1st Jan. 1763* [1761 ?], where the *Propositio* is described as accompanied by the *Officium* " Rom. 1480. Jussu & Auctoritate Sixti Papae IV cum aliis Tractatus [sic] antiq. mss. script. circa siculo 15. *2l. 2s.*" The error of place is explicable by the inclusion of papal decrees dated thence, though of 1475, so that the leaves now lost may have given the correct date of printing before this part of the volume was detached. The feast was petitioned and prescribed for observance in the province of Canterbury in 1480 (see C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *Old Service-books of the English Church*, 2nd edn. (1910), p. 193); the chronology of Caxton's type accords with this, and W. de Machlinia printed an edition assignable to 1480. The remainder of the volume appeared in the sale of Brand's books in 1807, going to the Marquess of Blandford, when it was described and the English poems printed by Sir E. Brydges (*Censura Literaria*, viii (1808-9), 351-4, 401-2; x. 69-70, 186-7); and by T. F. Dibdin (*Typographical Antiquities* i (1810), 11-15, with the text of the *Propositio*).

[1] *Calendar of Close Rolls 1476-1485* (1954), nos. 185 and 1116, dated 1476/7 and 1483. Will dated 29 May, proved 30 June 1517, with directions for burial quoted by W. H. St. J. Hope, *London Charterhouse* (1925), p. 98.

Rolle collection containing additions claiming to be taken from the author's autograph ; " and the variants in the two manuscripts are peculiar and nearly always agree ".[1] Although the palaeographical judgement is in my view untenable, the Emmanuel volume may be contemporary with the Rylands one, and the alleged textual affiliations (presumably better-founded) would imply some common antecedent for the two. Emmanuel was certainly annotated by James Grenehalgh, the industrious Carthusian student of English mystical writings, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and possibly also, as Miss Deanesly thought, by his friend Joan Sewell, Brigittine nun of Syon abbey (Middlesex) between 1500 and 1532.[2] But as the former had access, both at Sheen and elsewhere, to books belonging to several Charterhouses, and as the order was peculiarly active in such literary circulation,[3] we cannot infer from the link with Emmanuel anything more definite about the hinterland of Rylands than that it was possibly metropolitan and monastic.

The contemplative bias of the collection should have been obvious from the recital of its contents, and certain pieces particularly point to a professional interest : e.g. " In Revelacionibus beate Matilde legitur quod quatuor sunt que plurimum deo complacent in viris religiosis . . ." (fol 90^{r}). The source as well as the selection is significant, again suggestive of Carthusian or Brigittine contacts, since its English circulation was closely connected with them. The commonplace pseudo-Augustinian *De laude psalmorum* (fol. 128^{r}), on the saying of the divine office, also indicates a clerical owner, and there may be personal or local relevance in the saints singled out for commemoration and invocation. The most remarkable of these is the marginal note on fol. 135, by the main hand, against a brief

[1] *Incendium*, ed. M. Deanesly (1915), pp. 33-5 ; cf. Allen, op. cit. pp. 215-16.

[2] Grenehalgh was professed at Sheen (Surrey) in 1495, was transferred to Coventry between 1500 and 1508, and died at Hull in 1529/30. He annotated books belonging to London and Mountgrace as well as Sheen and Coventry. Cf. Deanesly, pp. 78-83, and J. Russell-Smith, *Dominican Studies*, vol. 7 (1954), p. 210.

[3] See E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (1930), pp. 323-31 ; E. Colledge, *English Studies*, vol. 33 (1952), pp. 49-66.

mention of Dubricius in the life of St. Sampson of Dol : "Memorandum de ecclesia beati Dubricii in decanatu Irchynfeld in dioc. Hereforden." [1] It is not unreasonable, in view of the associations which will appear from the subsequent descriptions of other manuscripts, to instance in this regard the career of Thomas Millyng, abbot of Westminster from 1469 to 1474 and from the latter year till his death in 1492 bishop of Hereford, but continuing his ties with the abbey and being buried there.[2] His name is not put forward so much as a possible owner of the Rylands volume, which can be nothing but a guess, but rather as exemplifying the type of personality that might combine and supply the *raisons d'être* of such a collection, which is not exclusively inward-looking, after all that has been argued above. Edmund Stevyns, or any layman, is an unlikely candidate, but he, and Caxton, and Ebesham himself, represent the non-religious environment with which all the metropolitan monasteries, especially Westminster and even the Charterhouses, were intimately involved.

It is apposite to observe at this point, in view of the interest in Dubricius (and S. Keneburga, perhaps of Gloucester) that the scribe's name has probably no connection with the Worcestershire Evesham, as might be thought, but is in fact a current medieval form of Epsom ; his orthography shows no signs of a West Midland origin, and a namesake who was a monk of Westminster from 1510 to 1535 clearly came from the locality in Surrey.[3]

III

After the two books in which the scribe's signature appears, it is convenient to take those assigned to him on the evidence of writing alone in approximately chronological order, so far as it is ascertainable.

[1] In fact four of the six known ancient dedications to this saint are in the district and deanery of Archenfield : see F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church-dedications*, ii. (1899), 200.

[2] E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster* (1916), pp. 152-3.

[3] Ibid. p. 182 : transcribed *Evsam, Evsham, Evesham*, but also *Ipsam*, etc. See *Place-names of Surrey* (E.P.N.S. 1934), p. 74. As will be seen from the scribe's signatures such a misreading is not unnatural. Cf. William *Ebesham* in a Gloucestershire context, 1460 (*C.C.R. 1454-61*, p. 487).

ADDITIONAL MS. 10106 in the British Museum is a small ($5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches) volume of vellum and paper,[1] the first and longer portion, fols. 3-49, written in a fluent style resembling that of the letters and English prose of Lansdowne MS. 285, but better than both and varying somewhat with the language, the Latin parts being more like the French of Ebesham's share in that book than the Latin of the majority of Rylands Lat. MS. 395 (cf. Plates IIB and III). The second and shorter portion of the Additional manuscript, fols. 50-78, is in a rather awkward attempt at a post-humanist book-hand based on the same sort of cursive as that of Rylands (cf. Plates IIIB and IVB), and in the last couple of more hastily written pages it reveals a high proportion of Ebesham's characteristic forms and habits. The contemporaneous notes on the fly-leaves at both ends are also mostly in a very small and informal but neat variety of his hand.

The contents afford clear evidence, if only circumstantial, of date and provenance.[2] The first item, *Cronica de regibus Anglie . . . usque regem Edwardum quartum* (fols. 3^{r}-20^{v}), actually ends with Henry IV, but such a slip of the pen would be a natural one during or soon after the reign of Edward (1461-83), when minds were accustomed to that combination. *The maner & the fourme of the coronacion of kynges and quenes of England* (fols. 21^{r}-30^{v}) which comes next, is a translation (also found in Morgan MS. 775 and Lansdowne MS. 285) of a recension made before 1460 of the rubrics of the *Liber Regalis*,[3] the localization of which scarcely needs comment. More definite still are the associations of the following piece, *De dedicatione ecclesie beati Petri Westmonasterii*[4] (fols. 31^{r}-33^{r}) in Latin, and the *Privilegia*

[1] The original quire-signatures run, after two fly-leaves, *a*, *b*, *3* and *7* (4?) in twelves; *vi*, *vii* and another of eight, and a final six. This might point to the loss of a fifth quire, but the first four, of mixed vellum and paper, and the last four of vellum solely are linked by a catchword by the main hand, and the texts in each half are continuous. Something may have been dropped at an early stage. The main mark in the paper resembles Heawood's Fig. 46, used *c.* 1462-1506.

[2] Cf. *Catalogue of Additions* (1843), p. 12.

[3] Latin ed. C. Wordsworth, H. Bradshaw Soc., vol. 2 (1892), App. i. pp. 63-72; English in Dillon, loc. cit. pp. 47-55, with preface by J. W. Legg.

[4] An early item found both separately (e.g. in the fifteenth-century collection Huntington Library 1342, which I am grateful to Mr. H. C. Schulz for checking)

Westmonasterii (fols. 33r-39v) in English, a memorial addressed to an unspecified king in defence of the abbey's rights of sanctuary.[1] The two preceding English items and the next four, *A good and a profitable table of the feythe of Cristen people* (fols. 39v-44r), *A good & a profitable tretys of gode levyng to all maner astates of the people, made & ordeyned for gret men & myghty & her Justicis* (fols. 44r-47r), *The temptacions of the devill . . . of the vij dedly synnes & of her braunches, And the answers . . . of the gode angel* (fols. 47r-49r), and an account (fol. 49r) of the physiognomy of Christ according to " the stories & Cronycles of Rome " (the spurious epistle of P. Lentulus), are all translations, and to the best of my knowledge unique copies, from Latin texts found in the same order in Bodley MS. 596, a volume probably compiled at Westminster in the first quarter and still thereabouts in the middle or third quarter of the century.[2]

The second portion of the Additional manuscript contains *Devote meditaciones de beneficiis dei . . . que vocatur* [sic] *Stimulus Compassionis*,[3] in rhyming Latin quatrains (fols. 50r-78r), followed by sequences and suffrages for SS. Pantaleon, Wilgefort and Blaise (fol. 78r-v), of whom the first appears to have had a revival of cult in England coming from the Low

and incorporated in other works (see J. Flete, *History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. J. A. Robinson (1909), p. 3).

[1] Threats like that mentioned in the preamble were at their height during the Lollard movement ; this answer was perhaps (as suggested by the Bodleian *Summary Catalogue*) made c. 1410, the last year in which there was a concerted parliamentary attack on ecclesiastical wealth and franchises ; cf. T. Walsingham, *St. Albans Chronicle 1406-1420*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (1937), pp. 52-5. William Sudbury, monk of Westminster, d. 1414/15, was author of a longer defence in the Longleat manuscript described below. There is another English summary of the "privilege of Westmynstre" in Oriel College, Oxford, MS. 79, fols. 73r-77v.

[2] *Summary Catalogue*, no. 2376 : section A only, " clearly connected with Westminster " (and also the city of London). Now bound with items of different provenance, this portion was once part of a much larger volume, of which the first 127 leaves had apparently gone before the escutcheon of the Baron family (of Berks.) was tricked on the present opening leaf in the mid-fifteenth century. I hope to publish elsewhere an account of the books connected with members of this family active in the court. city and home counties in the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV.

[3] Ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 149, col. 601 ff., among the spurious works of St. Anselm, whom Add. MS. 10106 does not mention, only an alleged commendation by St. Bernard. Cf. Trinity College, Dublin, MS. 349, fol. 36.

Countries in the later fifteenth century, the second is represented by a statue in King Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, while the third had a chapel of his own in the abbey church.[1] It is these last three items that are most obviously by Ebesham's hand and so help to demonstrate that the preceding piece is probably his. His additions on the endleaves (fols. 1^{v} and 79^{r}) include Latin verses and conventional memoranda, an English stanza on the properties of wine (by Lydgate ?),[2] and a note of considerable interest: "Descripcio in pede virgis [sic] regie apud Westm. Virga recta est virga regni tui"—from the rod with dove of the medieval regalia.[3] On fol. 2^{r} is added a petition from the Abbot and convent of W[estminster] for confirmation of their privileges, mentioning Richard II among their previous royal patrons, and therefore apparently addressed to Edward IV or Richard III, or possibly Henry VII or VIII. The volume is in an original blind-stamped cover with the distinctive "carrot" or "lily" tool of a binder employed by Caxton, found on books dated *c.* 1477-1504, but possibly in use only *c.* 1483 onwards; "and as the contents have in part Westminster associations", says Mr. J. B. Oldham in a note in the manuscript (without noticing all those above), "the binding may be attributed to his shop".[4] Of course it need not have been bound, especially in view of its format, for some time after the main texts were written.

[1] For the first cf. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 57, Hours of English and Flemish workmanship, with Henry VII's insignia, *c.* 1490 (M. R. James, *Catalogue* (1895), p. 143); the second is in U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, no. 2105; for the third see Pearce, op. cit. p. 161.

[2] Brown and Robbins, *Index*, no. 4175, ignoring the ascription in John Stow's B.M. Add. MS. 29729. The other manuscript (apart from Add. MS. 10106), Harley 2252, is of London provenance *c.* 1500 (see R. H. Robbins, *Studia Neophilologica*, vol. 26, pp. 58-9). Line 2 is l. 1969 of Lydgate's *Secrees* with a similar context. The present copy has seven instead of eight lines, rearranged.

[3] Destroyed in 1649. The words quoted, from Psalm 44, occur in the prayer "Accipe virgam virtutis et equitatis" in the *Liber Regalis* (see L. G. Wickham-Legg, *English Coronation Records* (1901), p. 98). That they were on the rod has not, I think, been hitherto known.

[4] G. D. Hobson, *English Binding before 1500* (1929), pp. 19-20, distinguished two binders, the user of this tool being the second; but Mr. Oldham, *English Blind-stamped Bindings* (1952), p. 27, with a greater variety of evidence, finds it difficult to draw a line between them.

St. John's College, Oxford, MS. 147 is a volume of medium size (8 × 5 in.), like Rylands, written mainly by Ebesham, on vellum and paper, the script varying very much in angle, scale and flow and thus showing resemblances to both facets of his style (disregarding the latter part of Add. MS. 10106) so far described, though naturally having most in common with Rylands by reason of the matter and language (cf. Plates III, VB and VIA). It contains,[1] after an original table of contents, *Moralitas venerabilis Ricardi heremite super lectiones sancti Job* (fols. 1r-123v) [2] ; next, by another hand, uncompleted, *A tretys that tellyth howe . . . vj Doctours . . . were accordytt to speke of trybulacion* (fols. 124r-125r) ; [3] then the *Vitae & Passiones* of thirteen saints of the early Church (fols. 126r-225v), imperfect by the loss of one leaf at the end ; and the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes passionis Christi* (fols. 226r-263r), which occurs also in Rylands ; with later additions by another hand (fols. 263v-265r) : lists of *sexdecim gaudia in celo, miracula, dignitates, leges, premia ; sententie* from SS. Bernard and Ambrose ; *septem criminalia ;* and Latin verses on women [4] and on monks at wedding-feasts.

The volume is really in two portions or sequences of quire-signatures : the first comprising Rolle's Job simply ; the second the *Vitae* and the *Meditationes*, at first meant to be bound in reverse order but listed in the contents-table as they stand now.[5] At the front of the volume is an engrossed text-hand inscription, perhaps original and certainly contemporary : " Iste liber constat [Thome Lynne] Mon. Westmonasterij ", the name being erased and decipherable only under ultra-violet light ; and at the end, fol. 264v, by another hand : " Iste liber pertinet Willelmo Graunt T[este ?] Willelmo Grove Monach[is ?] Westm." Thomas Lynne, alias Mildenhale, said his first mass in 1455/6 and died

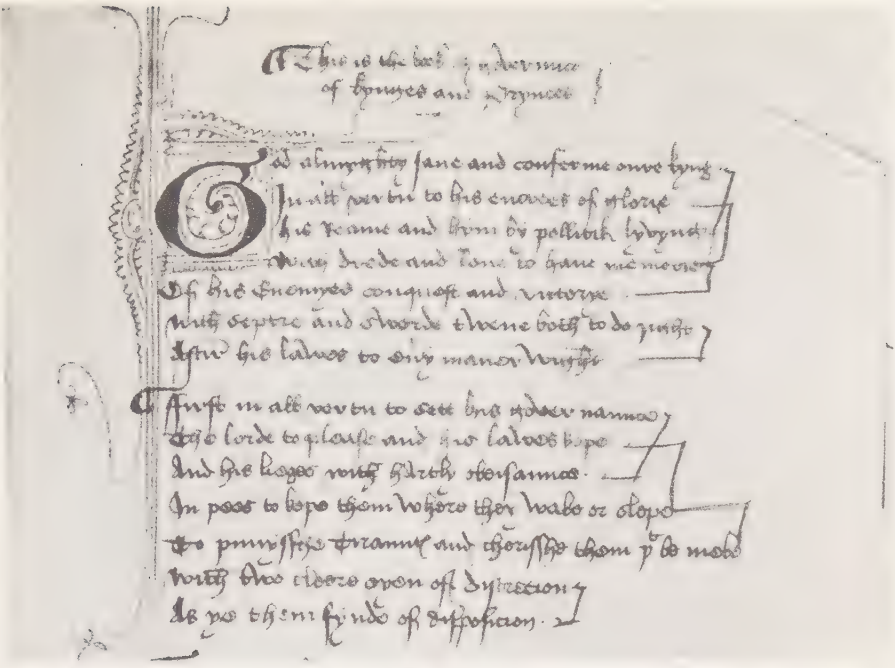
[1] Cf. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum*, ii (1852), 44.

[2] Cf. Allen, op. cit. p. 132.

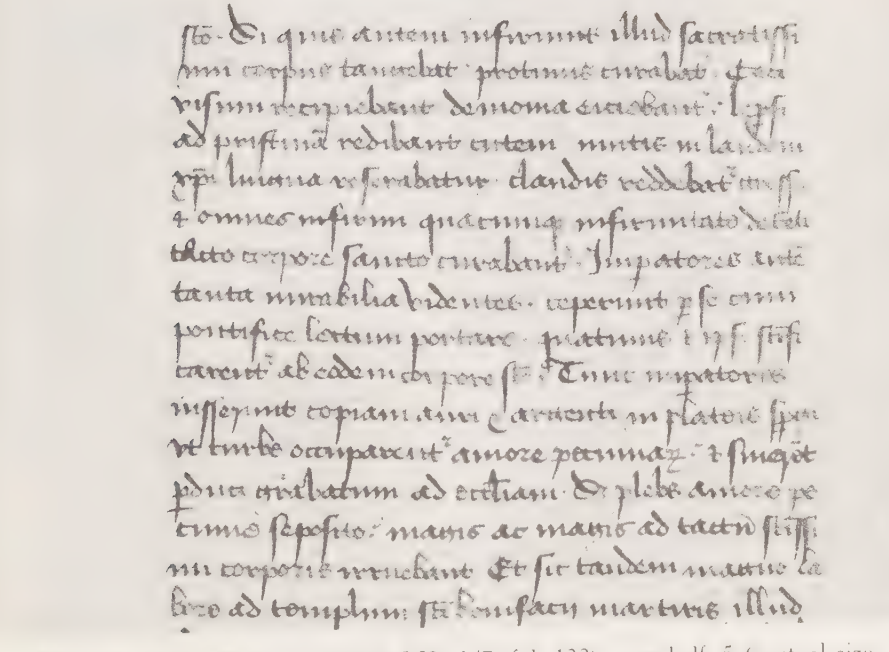
[3] Not verbally the same as in Rylands Lat. MS. 395.

[4] Also in the mid-fifteenth-century Westminster MS. 27.

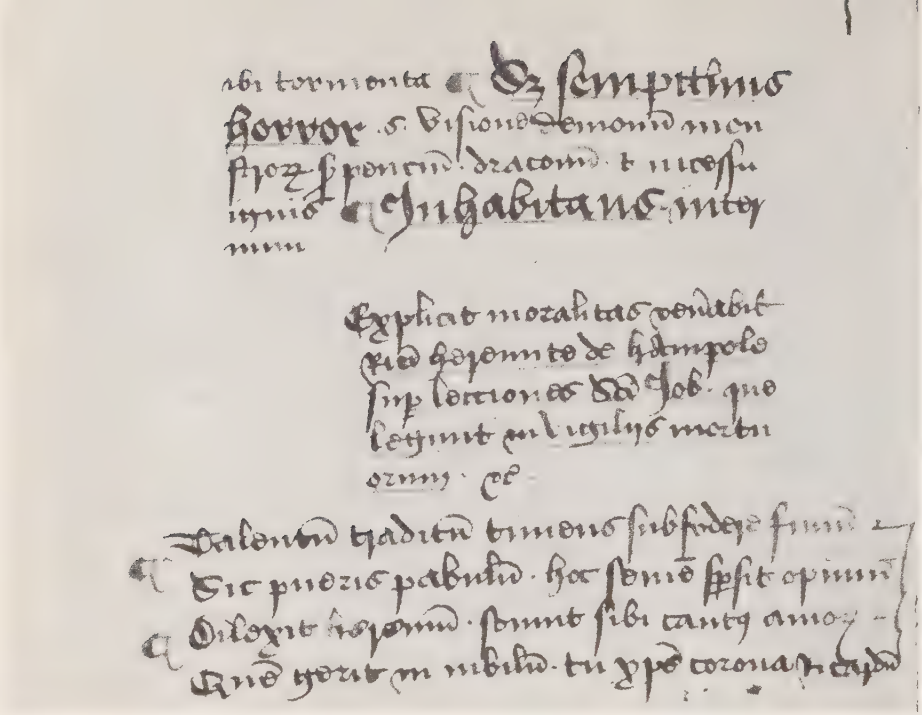
[5] The first half of composite vellum and paper gatherings of fourteen, not counting endleaves and losses, unsigned ; then *f-p* 10 (the last leaf lost with text) also of mixed makeup, followed by *a-e* 8, all vellum, signed by the same hand.



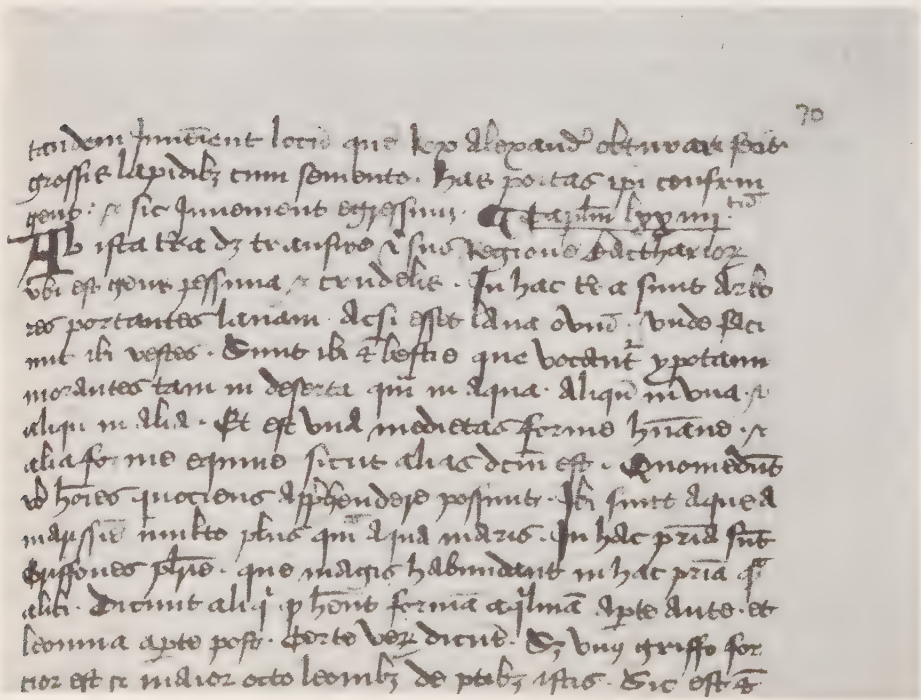
VA : British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 285, fol. 152r., top half, approx. 3/4 actual size.



VB : St. John's College, Oxford, MS. 147, fol. 132v., top half, 5/6 actual size.
(By permission of the President and Fellows.)



VIa : St. John's College, Oxford, MS. 147, fol. 123v., top half, 5/6 actual size.
(By permission of the President and Fellows.)



VIb : Durham University Library, Cosin MS. V.III 7, fol. 70r., top half, 5/6 actual size.

in 1473/4,[1] which accords with the date of the volume's watermarks.[2] It may have been immediately or through an intermediary it passed to Grant, a member of the community c. 1469-1510, or Grove, c. 1485-92, if the latter was ever its owner.[3]

The last three volumes described, Rylands, Additional and St. John's, could all have been written for the use of individual monks in the fashion explicit in the third case, but the next three to be treated were unquestionably community commissions. The present WESTMINSTER ABBEY MUNIMENTS BOOK I is a vellum copy of an early fifteenth-century paper register of title-deeds and other documents concerning its property and privileges called the *Liber Niger Quaternus*, with other collections incorporated. This transcript was made at the expense of Thomas Clifford, a monk from the noble family of that name, who also compiled the table of contents, according to original rubrics, presumably while he was treasurer, but the copying was only completed after his death in 1485.[4] It is a large volume (13 × 10 in.) entirely in the manner of Rylands and St. John's, perhaps nearer the former, with some fluctuation of size and care. The COLLEGE OF ARMS YOUNG MS. 72, which is virtually a duplicate, in format slightly smaller (12½ × 8¼ in.) and lacking the initial rubrics and table of contents, is also (so far as can be judged short of side-by-side comparison) by Ebesham's hand, in the same style, except for a partial index added later at the end.[5] It is in a contemporary binding bearing a stamp of the Beaufort arms which is otherwise found only on a book of Wynkyn de Worde's printing dated 1495, and other tools belonging to the shop connected with Caxton.[6] The links of

[1] Pearce, op. cit. p. 154.

[2] Resembling C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907), nos. 5757 and 5759, dated c. 1456-9 and 1476-87 respectively.

[3] Pearce, pp. 161, 171; cf. J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (1909), pp. 10, 25.

[4] Ibid. pp. 95-8; Pearce, pp. 159-60. He is described in the initial rubric as "quondam monachus"; it was in the last two years of his life that he was treasurer, though the office is not mentioned.

[5] Cf. Robinson and James, pp. 101-2. I am indebted to Mr. G. R. C. Davis for comparative details of the two registers.

[6] Cf. Hobson, op. cit. pp. 19-20 and Pl. 44; Oldham, p. 27 and nos. 239-41. There are four endleaves from a fourteenth-century manuscript of French or Anglo-Norman verse.

Westminster and the two printers with the Lady Margaret Beaufort are well known.

Westminster Abbey Library MS. 29, Flete's Latin history of the house, is a vellum copy of medium dimensions (10 × 7½ in.), made by Ebesham in the same style as the registers from a somewhat earlier manuscript of which a fragment survives in Trinity College, Dublin, MS. 548.[1] From an explicit reference to the Westminster register embodied in the text it is clear that MS. 29 was being transcribed during or after the completion of that volume and similarly for conventual purposes,[2] as the addition by another hand on a fly-leaf of a copy of a bull of Pope Julius II in favour of Henry VII's chapel confirms. The book has been rebound, but on the back of the last leaf is still stuck a piece of printed paper, probably former paste-down material, identifiable as lines 2-16 from the top half of fol. 63^{v} of Caxton's first edition of Le Fevre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie*, produced at Bruges *c.* 1474 : another relic of his bindery ? [3]

Cosin MS. V. III. 7 in the University Library, Durham,[4] is another volume of vellum and paper similar in size (9 × 6¼ in.) and script to Rylands and St. John's (cf. Plates III, Vb and VI), with a watermark found in English books and documents *c.* 1477-85,[5] and an opening rubric in an upright quasi-texthand like that of the St. John's and Westminster manuscripts, probably also by Ebesham. Its contents are wholly Latin, commencing with the shortest and least common version of Mandeville's Travels [6]

[1] Ed. Robinson, p. 30 ; Robinson and James, p. 89.

[2] Ed. p. 136, line 27 n. : " ut patet in nigro papiro " altered in this manuscript to " in nigro libro de novo confecto ad custus Thome Clifford monachi ". That it is taken straight from the Dublin copy is proved by the omission of complete lines of the latter.

[3] Cf. De Ricci, op. cit. no. 3*b* ; Sheppard, loc. cit. p. 37. Mr. L. E. Tanner kindly supplied an exact letter-by-letter copy, agreeing precisely in spelling, spacing and punctuation, to confirm a conjecture based on the type-face and subject.

[4] Cf. T. Rud's description in *Catalogi Veteres Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. B. Botfield (Surtees Soc. 1838), pp. 162-3. Gatherings of fourteen except for the second of sixteen and a final pair.

[5] Heawood, Fig. 70.

[6] Identified by Professor R. A. B. Mynors ; see J. W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (1954), p. 300 ; also M. Letts, *Mandeville* (1949), pp. 166-7.

(fols. 1r-84v); *de compositione chilindri & de officio eiusdem & quadrantis* [1] (fols. 84v-87v); the story of the Holy Cross, the crusades and the kingdom of Jerusalem (fols. 88r-93v); a verse summary of the book of Judith (fol. 94r); then, by a different contemporary hand (fols. 95r-99r), sequences on the phrases of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*,[2] a sequence and suffrage for King Henry VI (whose cult belongs chiefly to the reign of Henry VII, centred at Windsor and Westminster *c.* 1494-1504),[3] *Prelium mortis & vite*, and *Disputacio inter monacham & clericum*, both in distiches; and finally, by Ebesham's hand again, a stanzaic poem on monastic life [4] (fols. 99v-102r), and two prose passages, *Augustinus de laude psalmorum* [5] and *Per quem Enchiridion transfertur in psalterium* (fols. 102r-v), both found also in Rylands, only there in the opposite order and separately in the middle of the volume (fols. 128r and 126r respectively), whereas here used to fill the last leaf in a rather cramped fashion. The recurrence implies that if one manuscript was not a direct source for the other there was a common exemplar available to the copyist, despite the possible gap in time between the two. Rylands must have been finished after 1480 and Cosin after 1485, from the way in which the last three items follow the previous pieces, but the one may be as late as the other, or the permanent resources of Westminster, or the scribe's personal *repertoire*, could have supplied these very commonplace "fillers" in compilations of this sort; for Cosin may well be grouped with the other volumes made for individual monks which have been discussed above.

The only other manuscript so far identified as in part Ebesham's work is without any particular indications of date. It

[1] As in B.M. Arundel MS. 292, fols. 109v-112. Cf. F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (1931), no. 531, pp. 154-5.

[2] The latter being Chevalier, *Repertorium*, no. 2271.

[3] Printed from this copy in J. Blacman's *Memoir of Henry VI*, ed. M. R. James (1919), pp. xiii-xiv. Cf. Fitzwilliam MS. 57, referred to above, and Caxton's *XV Oos* and other prayers *c.* 1490. See also R. A. Knox and S. Leslie, *The miracles of Henry VI* (1936), and Pearce, p. 149, for efforts to translate him to Westminster.

[4] Ed. Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 184, col. 1327 ff., among the spurious works of St. Bernard.

[5] As quoted in the preamble of Remigius of Auxerre's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ibid. vol. 131, cols. 142-3.

is LONGLEAT HOUSE MS. 38, of about the same size as Cosin ($8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in.), that is somewhat smaller than Westminster MS. 29 but like it wholly of vellum.[1] The first eight leaves are lost and only fols. 9r-49v and 53r-200v are by Ebesham's hand, current but well-formed in the best manner of his Latin writing, while fols. 50r-52v and 201r-308, and marginal notes in both portions, are by a second hand collaborating with his.[2] The text up to fol. 256v consists of *Objectiones et argumenta contra et pro privilegiis Sanctuarii Westmonasteriensis*, quoting royal charters at length, and very possibly by the author of the following *Tractatus de sanguine Christi precioso*, which refers to the relics at Bruges, Ashridge and Westminster and is dedicated to King Richard II by William Sudbury, monk of the last-named house, with copies of relevant indulgences.[3] In view of the length and documentation of these two works, it seems likely that they were transcribed for Westminster itself, since the manuscript does not look like a presentation copy to an outsider of influence.

To the cumulative conviction of the associations adduced above may be added positive records from the abbey archives of Ebesham's presence there, bridging more than twenty years yet nonetheless short of the period we already know him to have been there. William Ebsam, described as gentleman of Westminster (implying previous residence), leased a tenement in the Sanctuary in March 1475 and held it until 1478/9 when it was taken over by the king's secretary, William Hatcliff.[4] There is no trace of his being there at the time of his plaintive letter to Sir John Paston in 1468, when he was scarcely in a position to pay for a tenancy himself. His name occurs again, along with Richard Doland, clerk of the royal works, who was living in the Sanctuary

[1] Cf. Historical MSS. Commission, *3rd Report*, App. p. 182.

[2] I owe thanks to the Marquess of Bath, his librarian Miss Dorothy Coates, and Dr. R. W. Hunt of the Bodleian, for help regarding this and other manuscripts.

[3] *H.M.C.* has Richard III, but Sudbury died 1414/15. Mr. L. E. Tanner ascribes both works to Sudbury and has suggested to me that the short *Privilegia* in Bodley MS. 596, translated in Add. MS. 10106, may also be by him.

[4] Westminster Abbey Muniments no. 17818: original lease with small seal, damaged, and no signature; cf. Sacrist's rolls, 1475-9. I am indebted to Mr. L. E. Tanner for this and for access to and advice about Westminster manuscripts.

at this time, both styled literates (i.e. latinate laymen) of the diocese of London, and two monks, witnessing the creation of William Cornyshe (the younger royal musician of the name) as a notary public, in St. Katharine's chapel within the monastic infirmary, 23 February 1497.[1]

The scribe's background is now established as well as we can hope. He was of good family and education but for a time at least reduced in circumstances and obliged to resort to the Sanctuary of Westminster,[2] where, after a period of service to the Pastons and one or two visits to Norfolk, he returned as an ordinary resident and pursued the same means of livelihood, amply employed by the abbey itself as well as by inmates of the community and perhaps of the neighbourhood too, no doubt fruitful in opportunities. The abbey was not without its own scribes but there must have been more than enough for them to do in a period when care of the conventual muniments and individual book-ownership were both well developed.[3] The connections with his fellow tenant Caxton illustrate the early collaboration, rather than competition, of the professional pen and printing press. The company of royal clerks in which we find him suggests a comfortable and probably congenial *milieu* for his later years. It may be that if further examples of his craftsmanship come to light they will modify this picture and reveal other episodes of his career and aspects of his talents, but one may venture to anticipate that they will enlarge our sense of the potentialities of his profession at this late stage of its history.

[1] W.A.M. 6538, also produced by Mr. Tanner. Cf. W. Nelson, *J. Skelton* (1939), p. 121. Ebesham's own name is not in the published *Calendars of Papal Registers* as a notary, nor in the records of the Scriveners' Company preserved at the London Guildhall, as I was informed by Mr. Raymond Smith, late Librarian there.

[2] Cf. J. C. Cox, *Sanctuaries and Sanctuary-seekers of Medieval England* (1911), pp. 70-1, and Nelson, op. cit. p. 122. Besides the other documents concerning this privilege copied by Ebesham, the Westminster register contains the oath on fol. 139^{v}. Debtors availed themselves of it commonly, if irregularly.

[3] Cf. Robinson and James, p. 12, and Pearce, p. 103, for E. Butler, monk 1474-89. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (Royal Historical Soc. 1941), pp. 109-10, records a number of instances, though only two of those above.

Notes on the Illustrations

Ebesham's writing, except in the second part of Add. MS. 10106, may be described in Sir Hilary Jenkinson's terminology [1] as a small splayed set hand developed from an earlier court-hand bastard and showing several features of the latter, especially in vernacular contexts. Though it always has professional confidence, it is by no means uniformly regular, even within passages of a page or less done consecutively, and over any longer stretch the variety of appearance, resulting from proportions, pen-pressure, quality of surface, as well as speed and care in the selection and formation of shapes and strokes, is very notable, without there being any perceptible points of abrupt change, such as may be found between adjacent pieces written at different times and with different pens, inks, papers or parchments, in different languages and on different subjects. Separate photographic specimens cannot give an adequate impression of these gradual changes, let alone the natural modification of the scribe's style over the years, but only slices, so to speak, chosen to present precisely the strongest contrasts yet showing the persistent resemblances and repeated variations even in such short excerpts. Though they cannot include anything like the whole range of his repertoire, they should illustrate enough of his characteristic forms and variants to convince anyone prepared to give them an attentive inspection, that his script is one flexible and idiosyncratic instrument. The most distinctive letter-shapes and abbreviations tend to recur in all examples of his work—certainly in all actual volumes—though what is predominant in one place may be subsidiary, almost accidental (and for that reason the more revealing) in another, because of either care or haste. It would be too tedious to point out examples of every significant form in each plate, so far as possible, but one may mention those which, if not basically unusual, are exceptional in execution or prominence, personal habits and preferences, not merely conventions of a school.

Of the majuscules *A* is ordinarily a double looped form, wholly rounded (in Plate I) or more commonly with a slightly

[1] *The Later Courthands in England*, i (1927), 52-3, etc.

pointed peak or elbow (I, IIB, IVA, IVB, VA, VIB), not at all unusual ; like *I*, either with a round loop (I, IIB, IHB, IVA, IVB, VA, VIB) or a pointed one (IIA, IVA, VIB) ; but both *A* and *I* are found in an angular form with a projecting limb instead of an upper loop (IIIA), and the latter also in an elegant shape with curling head and tail (IIIB, VB, VIA). Another elegant shape is that of *M*, with an *a*-like forepart and showy tail (e.g. in Plate I), sometimes, however, with a lower loop (I, IIB). *B* and *D* are found in three forms, one basically the roman capital, the second a charter-hand type, and a third, which may be called modern, being an enlargement of a minuscule. The first is found in IVA and IIB respectively ; the second in IIA, IVA, VIB, and IIB, VIA respectively, rather unusually at this date, I think ; the third in IIIB and VIB (also page 2 of IVB) respectively. *E*, and *G* which is very like it, *Q* and *R* are constant, the last being the most distinctive (IIA, IIB, IVA, IVB, VA, VIA, VIB). *N* and *S* are almost always the same, enlarged minuscules, the latter particularly common and characteristic (I, IIA, IIB, IVA, VB, VIA), though another form of each does occur (e.g. of the latter in page 2 of IVB). *T* may be looped (I, IIA) or simply with a straight (IIA, IVA, VA) or twisted (VB) vertical bar. *W*, as will be seen from Ebesham's initial, varies in the treatment of the first stroke as do the minuscules of which it is only an adaptation.

In the lower case, if one may employ the metaphor, there are three or four sorts of several letters. Not the most obvious but everywhere present is the headless *a* in which the strokes intersecting at the top tend to project slightly beyond each other to form a spur on one or other side or both ; speed, however, produces a looped form along with it, both initially and medially, like the simple majuscule, and cross-bars and unlooped heads also occur, less frequently. The ascenders or rather downstrokes of *b*, *d*, *h*, and *l* may be either looped or straight with an introductory serif, the former being ordinary and the latter distinctive ; *d*, however, is remarkable in being predominantly of the straight variety and its oblique stroke is one of the most conspicuous features of Ebesham's script. The others vary more with the style of the passage, *h* sometimes having only an upper loop but sometimes two ; *b* and *l* are given angular feet

in the more careful work. A tag extending from the body of *d* across the stem to the right, of no meaning, occasionally occurs; the eight-like *g* sometimes has a final loop, equally purposeless, as is a horizontal stroke above or through the ascender of *h* in the ligatures *ch*, *gh*, *th*, and of *l* when it is doubled, whether or not looped. The other *g*, alternating in all passages, varies in the tail only, as to whether it is curled well to the left (like that of *M*) or to the right, or hooked up or cut short, according to the degree of the scribe's deliberateness, it seems. There are three or four forms of *r*, of which one, the modern roman one, is highly distinctive when, as is common, a hair-line rises from its shoulder to the right, or else the end of that limb is turned back above as a tag of no significance. This may have a foot or be formed as a *v*. It alternates with a long cursive form and one of inverted *2* shape, rounded or angular as appropriate. The initial stroke of *v* and *w* is usually started high above the line and is long and heavy, echoing that of *d*, but it is varied in the latter case with a curve commencing below the line and in the former with a conventional loop from the right above the letter. The big lower curve of *x* is most persistent and the form with a straight cross-bar only found in studied passages. The tail of *y* has a curve or an angle more or less indifferently, and in a medial or final position in vernacular passages the head is usually dotted. There are four types of ampersand, one dominant in each passage but with intrusions of the others, one being distinguished by the tendency of its centre-piece to degenerate, and another on the contrary by an elegant loop below the line. There are three forms of the signs for both suprascript *a* and final *ur*, a wavy line and tail for the one and a circle and tail for the other being the most individual. Punctuation, like the ticking of *i*, depends on the labour bestowed on the calligraphy.

Attention may be directed to the inferior quality of the penmanship of Plates IIA and IVA in comparison with Plate I, which is well-shaped though current: owing perhaps in part to materials (blunt pen, poor ink or porous surface in the former?). The contrast of the fluent upper and stiffer lower half of IIA, connected with the relative frequency of loops and angles, is marked all the more against the ease and regularity of the two

pages of IIB, where the difference of slightly greater formality in the second reflects the change of language. There is another regularity in IIIA, achieved almost entirely with serifs, straight strokes and angular feet ; the upper part of IIIB, with the same pen, is more relaxed, including features from I and II, while the lower part, by a broader nib at another time, adds other looped and unlooped forms. The upper and lower parts of IVA vary in language and the awkwardness of the second is surely a not yet expert attempt to render this, better realized in IIB and IIIB (both later ?). The forms of the superficially dissimilar second page of IVB are basically those of III, used experimentally, with one or two additions. In VA we have a larger and more accomplished English performance than I, IIA, or IVA, though there is a distinct change of ink and increase of currency, not deterioration, half-way through. The broken strokes of the first half are also visible in VB, a very deliberate version of the stiffer Latin manner but still with some admixture of looped forms, as in the more confident and current combinations of IIIA, IIIB and VIB, contrasting with the second page of IIB and VIA in their equally competent treatment of that language. There may have been a change from the latter, old-fashioned, style to a more modern simplified one, in which elements of the easier forms tended to recur, especially at any speed.

It may be noted in conclusion that the variations in Ebesham's signature in I, IIA and IIIA are themselves instructive.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN BRITTANY: THE ROYALIST CONSPIRACY OF THE MARQUIS DE LA ROUËRIE, 1791-3

By A. GOODWIN, M.A.,

PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER [1]

THE object of this lecture will be threefold—to analyse the origins, character and failure of the conspiracy of the Marquis de la Rouërie between 1791 and 1793, to treat it as a specific and characteristic example of Breton regional politics at the end of the eighteenth century, and to place it in the wider context of the French counter-revolution as a general movement.[2]

The counter-revolution is in itself a vast and complicated theme, upon which much has been written by French historians.[3] As a field of study and research it is still, however, far from being exhausted, and the new interpretations which have already been suggested by specialists have not yet gained general currency. Here, as always, historical revaluation has resulted, partly from fresh ways of looking at the problem, and partly from the examination of new or hitherto only partially explored material. The first general conclusion which modern research seems to suggest is the paradoxical one that the origins of the counter-revolution ante-date the outbreak of the French revolution itself.[4]

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 12th of December, 1956.

[2] Much of the original material used by subsequent historians is to be found in A. de Beauchamp, *Histoire de la Guerre de Vendée et des Chouans depuis son origine jusqu'à la Pacification de 1801*, 3 vols. (1806). The most relevant of the modern authorities are C. L. Chassin, *La préparation de la guerre de Vendée, 1789-1793*, vol. ii (Paris, 1892); G. Lenôtre, *Le Marquis de la Rouërie et la conjuration Bretonne, 1790-1793* (Paris, 1910); L. Dubreuil, *Histoire des insurrections de l'ouest*, 2 vols. (1929-30).

[3] See, for instance, P. P. de Champrobert, *Le Comte d'Artois et l'Émigration* (1837); H. Forneron, *Histoire Générale des Émigrés pendant la révolution française*, 2 vols. (1884); E. Daudet, *Histoire de 'Élmigration*, 3 vols. (1904-7); E. Vingtrinier, *La contre-révolution, 1789-91*, 2 vols. (1924); F. Baldensperger, *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française*, 2 vols. (1925).

[4] Dr. J. A. Johnson's unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, "Calonne and the Counter-Revolution, 1787-1792", works this suggestion out in detail.

There is, however, much in the history of the emigration of the French aristocracy and of French provincial counter-revolutionary risings after 1789 which can only be properly understood in terms of the political circumstances and the social and economic tendencies under the *Ancien Régime*. One advantage in studying the counter-revolution as, to some extent, a continuation of political and constitutional struggles whose roots ran deeply into French history, is that the divisions and mutual distrust between the *émigré* princes and the French sovereigns, whose interests they were supposed to have in trust, thereby become intelligible. Even the leadership of the *émigré* counter-revolution was in dispute between two former Ministers of the Crown, Calonne, representing the views and interests of the Comte d'Artois, and de Breteuil, the personal representative of Louis XVI. The suspicion and distrust which Marie Antoinette felt for the *émigré* princes is well known, but it is not always appreciated that one reason for this division was the totally opposed views held by the reigning, but captive, monarchs and their exiled representatives as to what should be restored if the counter-revolution was successful.[1] Much of this division and recrimination was the product of the different circumstances in which the French sovereigns and the *émigré* princes found themselves at the time. Both were far from being free agents—the King and Queen being the prisoners of the revolutionaries, and the exiled princes the prisoners of the *émigrés*. But the conflict of views should also be related to the rival court factions, the personal antipathies and the clash of policies between the aristocracy and the monarchy before the summons of the States General. If the counter revolutionary manifestoes and proclamations of the *émigré* princes are examined closely, due allowance being made for their propagandist character, and in conjunction with the secret policy memoranda of the time, it will be realized that their underlying motive was not merely to reject the new French revolutionary constitution, which Louis XVI had been compelled to accept in

[1] See A. Soderhjelm (ed.), *Marie-Antoinette et Barnave, Correspondance secrète*, 1924; A. Arneth (ed.), *Marie-Antoinette, Joseph II und Leopold II, Ihr Briefwechsel*, 1866; A. Arneth et A. Geffroy (edd.), *Marie-Antoinette, Correspondance secrète entre Marie-Thérèse et le comte de Mercy-Argenteau*, 3 vols. (1874).

September 1791, but also to resume the attack on the kind of Enlightened Despotism, which the king had sponsored, as an alternative to national bankruptcy, in 1787.[1] The objective of the *émigré* princes and of the counter-revolution proper was not, in other words, a simple restoration of monarchical despotism as it had existed before 1789, or even of the social structure of the *Ancien Régime*, but rather the creation of a restricted monarchy, based upon the revival of corporate and provincial privileges.[2] Hence, on the one hand, the antagonism between the French sovereigns and the *émigré* princes, and, on the other, the appeal of the counter-revolution to the local population of those areas in France, such as Brittany, where the traditions of independent particularism were so strong.

A second general tendency which may be noticed is the greater emphasis now given to the more detailed study of the series of civil wars in France, which form the local background to the counter-revolution.[3] This regional approach to the history of the counter-revolution is one which again will well repay further extension, and it is as a minor contribution to this kind of enquiry that the present paper may, perhaps, be justified. Necessarily, however, progress in this direction will depend primarily upon the activities of French local historians and archivists. The matter is in safe hands and we may confidently expect that many new and hitherto unsuspected aspects of the counter-revolution will be revealed.

A final, and perhaps superfluous, remark upon the way in which counter-revolutionary studies may be expected to develop

[1] A. Goodwin, "Calonne, the Assembly of French Notables of 1787 and the origins of the *Révolte Nobiliaire*", *English Historical Review*, lxi (1946), 202-34 and 329-77.

[2] By a restricted monarchy the counter-revolutionaries meant, not a limited monarchy of the English type, which was favoured by Necker and the party of the *Monarchiens*, but a monarchy bound by the "fundamental laws of the kingdom" as interpreted by the *Parlements*.

[3] E.g. S. Brugal, "Les camps de Jalès", *Revue de la Révolution*, vols. 4-7 (1884-5); L. Dubreuil, "L'idée régionaliste sous la Révolution", *Annales Révolutionnaires*, vols. ix-xi (1917-19); C. Riffaterre, *Le mouvement anti-jacobin et anti-Parisien à Lyon et dans le Rhône-et-Loire en 1793* (1912-28); P. Nicolle, "Le mouvement fédéraliste dans l'Orne en 1793", *Annales Historiques de la Révolution française*, xiii (1936), 481-512; xiv (1937), 215-33; xv (1938), 12-53, 289-313, 385-410.

in the future, concerns the opportunities awaiting British historians in this field, if only more systematic use is made of the original sources in this country. One of the most fruitful ways in which British scholars could contribute to the progress of research in the history of the counter-revolution would be to exploit more fully the manuscript and printed treasures of the Public Record Office and British Museum and not least of the great provincial libraries, such as the John Rylands Library and the Sheffield Central Reference Library.[1] Pre-eminent in this respect are the Calonne papers in the Public Record Office, which have now been classified and indexed, so as to make them more readily accessible to students than they formerly were.[2] I have made a limited use of them for this study and most of what I have to say about the organization of the Breton conspiracy of la Rouërie is derived from a study of these papers, though I have also made use of the police records of the National Convention in the Paris archives.

Despite what has already been said about the way in which the divisions between the counter-revolutionaries sprang, partly, from the factions of the *Ancien Régime*, the essential genesis of the counter-revolution is, naturally, to be found in the opposition to the evolving revolutionary situation of 1789 to 1793. Though the shape and significance of the counter-revolution had been, to some extent, pre-determined by the aristocratic resistance to the radical reform plans of Calonne on the eve of the revolution, the movement itself only gathered force under the direct impact of the events of 1789 and in the widening context of popular support once religious schism had overtaken France in 1791 and after it had become clear, early in 1792, that Austria and Prussia would join the anti-revolutionary crusade proclaimed by both Calonne and Burke as early as 1790. In the first instance, the counter-revolution would not have been more than an aristocratic *fronde*, if the attempt of the French nobility to seize the levers of political

[1] See the recently published *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Sheffield City Libraries*. 1956.

[2] P.R.O. P.C. 1/123-33. Other rich sources are the Puisaye papers in the British Museum, partly used by Louis Blanc, and the Bouillon papers in the Public Record Office.

power in the States General had succeeded. The failure of that attempt and the triumph of the Third Estate in the vindication of the National Assembly's claim to political sovereignty, caused the Crown and the aristocracy in the summer of 1789 temporarily to sink their differences in a mutual defence pact. Reactionary influences in the royal council and at the court persuaded Louis XVI that the exaggerated claims of the Third Estate could be scotched, if the procedural wrangles between the privileged and unprivileged orders in the States General were settled by royal arbitration and if a programme of royal reforms was imposed from above and, if necessary, by force of arms.[1] The attempt to reach such a solution was made in the so-called royal session of 23 June 1789. The programme of reforms offered by Louis XVI to the Assembly on that occasion is a document of cardinal importance in the history of the counter-revolution.[2] In effect, it was, in its final form, a bargain between Louis XVI and the reactionary associates of his younger brother, the Comte d'Artois, according to which the privileged orders, in return for the sacrifice of their fiscal immunities, would have been allowed to retain or commute their feudal dues and to preserve their corporate privileges in Church and State.[3] Its importance in the subsequent history of the counter-revolution was that it represented the limit of concession beyond which the monarchy was not prepared to advance in the direction of liberal reform, and the basis on which the political differences between the king and the aristocracy might have been resolved. It would have endowed France with the form of a restricted monarchy as understood by the counter-revolutionaries and have preserved the political and social pretensions of the French aristocracy. To this programme, which was still-born because it was rejected by the National Assembly, the *émigré* nobility remained, in the subsequent period,

[1] E. Dard, *La chute de la royauté* (1950), pp. 117-19.

[2] See C. de Loménie, "Les préliminaires de la Séance Royale du 23 June 1789", *Annales de l'École libre des Sciences Politiques*, vol. 5 (1890), pp. 104-28; A. Brette, "La Séance Royale du 23 Juin 1789", *La Révolution Française*, xxii (1892), 5-44, 120-54, 416-52; xxiii. 55-76; O. Becker, *Der Verfassungspolitik der französischen Regierung vom Ausbruch der groszen Revolution, Historische Studien (Ebering)*, Heft 86(1909).

[3] J. M. Thompson, *French Revolution, Documents, 1789-94*, pp. 46-7.

more attached than did the French monarchy.[1] Just because it also represented the terms upon which the nobility were prepared to accept the revised draft of the reforms previously promoted by Calonne, it provides an explanation for what might otherwise appear inexplicable—why it was that Calonne came to be accepted as the leader of the counter-revolution by the very nobility which had hounded him into exile in England in 1787.

The misfortunes which overtook the French nobility in the subsequent period were, however, largely of their own creation. The attacks on their privileged positions, social distinctions and property rights were provoked by their own early attempts at counter-revolution. The capture of the Bastille was the direct result of the attempt of the reactionaries to isolate and reduce the capital by armed force.[2] The burning of the provincial *châteaux* and of their feudal records, the violence associated with the Great Panic, which swept across France in July and August 1789 have been rightly attributed to popular fears of the activities of " brigands ", supposed to be in the pay of counter-revolutionaries.[3] It was in this way that the panic fears of the peasantry spread to the aristocratic and middle class members of the National Assembly and that the feudal régime was partially dismantled on 4 August 1789, in the effort to avert its total collapse. What was swept away, however, in that famous " St. Bartholomew of privilege " was not so much the feudal system as the corporate organization of the Gallican church and of the separatist provinces.[4] If, later, the *émigré* nobility had been contending merely for the restoration of its feudal dues and of an unreformed *Ancien Régime*,

[1] In the earlier printed counter-revolutionary manifestoes, this programme could not, however, be publicly avowed owing to its contemporary unpopularity (P.R.O. P.C. 1/126/273 Calonne to Louis XVI, 11 August 1790). It should be noted that Louis XVIII's famous declaration made at St. Ouen on 2 May 1814 is a very close replica of the original programme of 23 June 1789, as drafted by Necker (E. Dard, *La chute de la Royauté* (1950), p. 119).

[2] P. Caron, " La tentative de contre-révolution, juin-juillet, 1789 ", *Revue d'histoire moderne*, viii (1906), 5-34 and 649-78.

[3] G. Lefebvre, *La Grande Peur de 1789* (1932), passim.

[4] F. Braesch, *L'Année cruciale, 1789* (1941), pp. 231-2. Etienne Dumont, who was an eye-witness of the occasion, noted that the Breton deputies, whose *cahiers* had instructed them to maintain the constitutional privileges of the province could only promise that they would endeavour to persuade their constituents to ratify their surrender. *Souvenirs*, ed. Bénétruy, p. 100.

it would never have succeeded in obtaining sufficient popular backing to make civil war in France practical politics. The destruction by the revolutionaries of provincial privileges, the uprooting of the Provincial Estates, the abolition of the provincial *Parlements*, however, represented not only an attack on aristocratic influence in the French state, but also the determination on the part of the central government to stamp out provincial separatism.[1] This was so strongly entrenched in various parts of France that its defenders threw in their lot with the counter-revolution.

Nowhere were these particular forms of discontent with the work of the Parisian revolution more keenly felt than in the former province of Brittany. If we are to understand why it was that the counter-revolutionaries were able to command the loyalty and devotion of such large sections of the Breton population after 1790, emphasis must be placed, not only on the dour attachment of the Breton people to their ancient traditions of provincial independence but also on the sincere religious piety of the Breton peasants which was enflamed by the persecution of the Catholic non-juring clergy, and the solidarity of interest, under the *Ancien Régime*, between the Breton nobility and their feudal dependents. It is important to realize that Brittany had never really fully accepted even the hesitant and accommodating centralization imposed upon it by the Bourbon monarchy before 1789. The province had been enabled to resist its complete absorption into the bureaucratic machinery of the monarchy, because it could appeal to the " liberties " guaranteed by the Crown in 1532 in the act of union, which had incorporated the former duchy into the French state. But, in the eighteenth century, the essential bulwarks of Breton constitutional independence had been the Provincial Estates and the local high court of appeal or *Parlement*.[2] When, at the end of the seventeenth century, Brittany had become the last of the French provinces to be subjected to the administrative control of a royal commissioner, or *intendant*, the magistrates of the *Parle-*

[1] For a defence of the new departmental system see E. Champion, " Provinces et départements ", in *La Révolution Française*, lxiv (1913), 302-10.

[2] See particularly H. Fréville, *L'Intendance de Bretagne* (1689-1790), iii (Rennes, 1953), 333-5.

ment of Rennes had opposed this innovation and, in the eighteenth century, had repeatedly petitioned the Crown for the restoration of the plenary powers of the Provincial Estates in the local administration. As time passed, however, the authority and prestige of the *intendant* in Brittany, challenged from the beginning by the local judicial magistrates, had been progressively undermined by the expansion of the administrative authority of the Provincial Estates.[1] Although this assembly only met once every two years and was, in its general sessions, not much more than a tumultuous gathering of representatives of the three orders of clergy, nobility and certain privileged towns, it had since 1734 established a joint standing commission, which by the end of the century had wrung from the central government responsibility for the supervision of municipal administration, the construction of canals, road communications and other public works, which in the *pays d'élection* lay within the exclusive jurisdiction of the *intendant*. The proceedings of these local Estates were dominated by the lay and clerical nobility, and even the voting procedure was by order, and not by head. Despite this, the representatives of the Third Estate, until the very eve of the revolution, appear to have been well content to play second fiddle to the privileged orders in the defence of the province's fiscal autonomy and its customary privileges. When the revolution swept away these surviving traces of home-rule in Brittany, the Breton people felt that their traditional independence had at last been destroyed.

Even more resented was the persecution of the Catholic priests, who refused to accept the ecclesiastical reforms of the National Assembly. In an area so remote from the main centres of eighteenth-century civilization, the parochial clergy had for long been the chief channel of communication between the government and the largely illiterate population. The Breton peasants, sincerely Catholic in their religious beliefs, had thus been habitually suspicious of the intrusion into their day-to-day affairs of any lay authority. When, therefore, the National

[1] E. Appolis, "Les états de Languedoc au XVIII[e] siècle. Comparaison avec les états de Bretagne", *L'Organisation corporative du Moyen Age à la fin de l'Ancien Régime. Études présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des Assemblées d'états*, Louvain, vol. 2 (1937), pp. 131-48.

Assembly first dispossessed and later banished the non-juring clergy, the Bretons had an added cause for dissatisfaction with the revolutionary authorities, and were easily persuaded by the agents of the counter-revolutionaries to take up arms in defence of the schismatical clergy.[1]

The appeal to arms, in the monarchical interest, however, was made by the lay nobility and the response it evoked in Brittany may be attributed to the peculiarly close relationships which had traditionally existed in the province between the peasantry and its feudal superiors. It would perhaps be incorrect to speak of the existence there of a " clan " system, but certainly the patriarchal control exercised by the Breton nobility over the peasants and farmers in the rural areas was much stricter, though less resented, than elsewhere in France.[2] The Breton nobility was so impoverished and tended, before 1789, to live in such intimate and continuous contact with its tenantry that its standards of living were often not far removed from those of the peasants themselves.

Perhaps in this respect alone was Charles Armand Tuffin de la Rouërie typical of the Breton nobility.[3] Born in April 1750, he was of noble extraction but his family did not belong to the old nobility and could not be considered rich. He lost his father at an early age and was brought up by his mother. He appears to have attended the same educational pension as the Comte de Mirabeau, where he acquired considerable facility in spoken English and a fair command of German. At the age of seventeen, as an ensign in the regiment of French guards, he had plunged into the gay social life of the capital under the protection and

[1] *Archives Nationales*, F 74590 (Plaquette 7) 13. Report by Lalligand-Morillon to Lebrun 22 December 1792. " Je crois qu'il faut porter grande attention sur ces disputes religieuses en Bretagne. Le peuple est sans instruction, il est dans la main des prêtres réfractaires qui s'y trouvent en grand nombre. Le fanatisme est le plus grand fléau de ces contrées. Je crains qu'il ne cause de grands désordres et que les désordres soient très voisins."

[2] De Tocqueville pointed out as long ago as 1856 that the peasants of La Vendée had supported the aristocratic counter-revolution in the West, not because feudal conditions were better there but because they were worse (*L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution, Œuvres complètes*, ed. J. P. Mayer, ii, 6th edn. (1952), 223).

[3] G. Lenôtre, *Le Marquis de la Rouërie*, chap. i.

with the guidance of his uncle, Monsieur de la Belinaye. He soon fell into the usual scrapes and he fell in love with, wished to marry, but was prudently rejected by, a singer at the Opera, Mlle. de Beaumesnil, who turned out to be his uncle's mistress. He wounded in a duel, and nearly killed, an intimate friend of Louis XVI—the comte de Bourbon Busset. As a result of these youthful escapades, La Rouërie fell into disgrace at Court, was compelled to resign his commission in the Guards, and, after failing to commit suicide by taking opium, withdrew, in a fit of remorse, to a Trappist monastery.

After the outbreak of the war of American Independence, he was persuaded by his family to emerge from his seclusion and to offer his services as a volunteer in the Colonial armies. He was one of the first of the French to reach America in April 1777, before Lafayette had even left France. He did so by swimming ashore with three of his followers after his ship had been sunk, close inshore, by a British frigate. He obtained permission from Washington to raise, largely at his own expense, a legion of French irregular troops in time to take part in the campaign of 1777. After this legion had been cut to pieces at the battle of Camden, in Carolina, he had returned to France to equip further forces. Back in America he played a distinguished part, as Colonel Armand, in the decisive capture of Yorktown.[1] Though he was decorated by the American Government with the cross of the Order of Cincinnatus, and given the nominal rank of brigadier-general in the American armies, he found himself, on the conclusion of peace, loaded with debt and without any adequate recognition from the French Government. Though he solved his immediate financial problems by marrying a rich widow, he became a widower shortly afterwards and was left, once more, to vegetate on his Breton estates. Partly out of pique at his continued neglect by the government, he threw in his lot with the aristocratic and magisterial opposition to Lamoignon's judicial reforms of May 1788. These reforms would have destroyed the political powers of the local *parlements*

[1] S. Bonsal, *When the French were here* (New York, 1945), p. 242. See also Vicomte de Noailles, *Marins et soldats français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'indépendance des États-Unis, 1778-1783* (Paris, 1920).

and have severely restricted their judicial competence.[1] In Brittany they were considered to have broken the contractual relations between the Crown and the province. When the Breton Provincial Estates sent a deputation of twelve nobles to Versailles to protest against this invasion of their liberties, La Rouërie was included in the delegation. For this audacity the marquis and his fellows were left to cool their heels in the Bastille from 14 July till the end of August and were only released when the chief Minister, de Brienne, was overthrown and the judicial reforms suspended till the meeting of the States General. Nevertheless, it is significant that when the Third Estate in Brittany revolted against the political predominance of the nobility in the Provincial Estates, and when the Government in December 1788 granted the Third Estate throughout France double representation in the States General, La Rouërie did not associate himself with the recalcitrant attitude then adopted by his fellow nobles.[2] On the eve of the revolution, therefore, La Rouërie was still a man with a chip on his shoulder, nursing a sense of grievance against the Government, with his military ambitions unsatisfied and, to some extent, out of step with the more powerful leaders of the Breton nobility. He was an isolated, disillusioned figure, torn between his loyalty to the aristocratic traditions of Breton separatism and an increasing inclination to favour the claims and aspirations of the Breton Third Estate. His bitterness grew when, late in April 1789, the Breton nobility refused to elect representatives to the national Assembly, on the ground that all the Breton delegates should be exclusively elected in their Provincial Estates.[3] This ruined his chances of representing his order in the States General. The consequence was that La Rouërie cut himself off further from his order by trying to build up a following among the upper ranks of the Breton middle classes and, by refusing, after 1789, to emigrate.

[1] M. Marion, *Le Garde des Sceaux Lamoignon* (1905), passim.

[2] G. Lenôtre, op. cit. pp. 34-5. A de Beauchamp, however, maintains that La Rouerie "provoked the refusal of the Breton nobility to attend the States General" (*Histoire de la Guerre de Vendée*, ii. 48).

[3] J. Egret, "Les origines de la révolution en Bretagne (1788-1789)", *Revue Historique*, ccxiii (1955), 211.

When, however, in the course of 1791, the hostility in Brittany to the administrative and religious policy of the Constituent Assembly declared itself, La Rouërie's very isolation and his previous experience as commander of irregular forces in America marked him out as a potential leader of a separatist revolt. The chance that had evaded him throughout his chequered and inhibited career had at last arrived. It is not easy to discover when La Rouërie began to make active preparations for a revolt; all that can be said is that secret negotiations for support must have been undertaken some time late in 1790 or early in the following year, for early in June 1791 he was ready to submit his proposals to the *émigré* court of the Comte d'Artois at Coblenz. Using the pretext of having some private business of his own to conduct abroad, the marquis obtained a regular passport to London, in order to avoid being suspected of attempting to emigrate. Accompanied by a few of his domestics, and by his inseparable companion and cousin—Therèse de Moëlien—La Rouërie made his way to England, and crossed into Germany via Ostend. He eventually made contact with the Comte d'Artois in the first week of June at Ulm, obtaining from him a commission to form a Breton association of Royalists, on the understanding that this enterprise should be, so far as possible, self-supporting financially.[1] La Rouërie was also authorized to place the association on a military basis, by organizing it as a Legion on the pattern of his American guerilla force. The marquis had already made tentative soundings of Royalist opinion in Brittany and had discovered that potential supporters would be disinclined to commit themselves unless they could be given specific assurances from the *émigré* court—first, as to the precise basis on which monarchical authority would be restored, particularly in relation to Breton provincial liberties, and second, as to what measures would be taken, if they were to support a foreign invasion by civil war, to protect their lives and property in the anarchical conditions before settled order was restored. These points were put to Artois by La Rouërie in the name of the province and it is interesting to note the character of Artois' assurances, which were incorporated in the plenary powers given

[1] *Archives Nationales*, F[7] 4590 (Plaquette 7), 21.

to the marquis. In this instrument Artois announced, on the first point, his fixed determination to repudiate all schemes aiming at the restoration of despotism and that " his only object was to enable the king to resume the exercise of an authority tempered by law and to re-establish the true French constitution, which would be quite compatible with reasonable liberty ".[1] The Bretons were also assured that any foreign military assistance which might be forthcoming would not be purchased at the price of any surrender of national territory and, finally, that one of the first consequences of the restoration of order would be the summons of the Provincial Estates and the full recognition of Breton constitutional privileges.[2]

On the second point, Artois replied that the *émigrés* would rely partly on the intimidating effects on the revolutionaries of the news of foreign invasion, and partly on the tranquillizing effects on the general population of the counter-revolutionary manifestoes, which would be published at the moment of the general rising. Apart from that, the Breton association itself could usefully undertake the rôle of a society of *vigilantes* and deal with the local brigands itself. It was clear from all this that the Association would be thrown back very much upon its own resources and that any external assistance would be subsidiary. No doubt La Rouërie felt that the precise guarantees of Breton provincial liberties would afford him the kind of talisman of which he had felt the need.

His next call was on Calonne—the chief minister of the *émigré* court at Coblenz. Detailed plans were discussed, Calonne promised some financial support and it was agreed that contact between the conspirators in the west and Coblenz should be maintained through an *émigré* officer, who had served under La Rouërie's orders in America—Georges de Fontevieux. Fontevieux had a fluent command of English, French and German and could move about Europe freely as an accredited diplomatic agent of the Prince of Zweibrücken. It was arranged that, while La Rouërie made his way back to Brittany via Paris in disguise,

[1] P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/370. Draft dated 5 May 1791.

[2] Austria was suspected of having designs on Alsace as the price of her military assistance to the *émigré* cause.

Fontevieux should remain with Calonne to await further instructions.[1]

The very day that La Rouërie and his companions arrived in Paris, Louis XVI and his family were brought back as captives after their flight had been stopped at Varennes. With this discouraging news, La Rouërie made his way back to Brittany. He set to work at once on the task of secretly organizing his counter-revolutionary association. This work seems to have been undertaken in two stages. The first necessity was to create some kind of administrative structure, to provide it with an intelligence or communications system and to canalize latent loyalist feeling by establishing contact with those who could provide the conspirators with money and manpower. The second stage was to convert the association into a military machine. Most of the remainder of 1791 was spent on the first commitment. La Rouërie resolved to base his organization on the pre-revolutionary system of Breton local government. His plan was to establish in each episcopal town a standing committee or council, consisting of a secretary and six commissioners—two from each of the separate orders of clergy, nobility and third estate. These councils were to receive their instructions direct from La Rouërie himself and transmit them to other committees, similarly constituted, operating in other urban centres. It was hoped, in this way, to cover the whole peninsula with a network of intelligence points which could be turned to a military use later. These councils were also to act as recruiting centres, to keep La Rouërie informed of the progress of their preparations, and to make arrangements for the despatch to a common rendezvous, on twenty-four hours' notice, of any forces at their disposal. La Rouërie also intended that they should persuade members of the local national guard and even regular soldiers to throw in their lot with the association.[2]

[1] *Revue de la Révolution*, vii (1886), 25. Chévetel's narrative. This account of the conspiracy by the man who betrayed it to Danton, was published in the above review by G. Bord. Internal evidence suggests it was written round about 1807 and it must be used with caution. See Lenôtre, op. cit. pp. 152-3.

[2] P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/380, "Principes d'organisation politique. Association Bretonne", December 1791.

Between mid-October, when he received news that his commission as chief of the association and commander of the Legion had been confirmed by the Comte de Provence, and early December 1791 La Rouërie succeeded in establishing no less than nineteen of these councils in Brittany and two in Normandy.[1] For the most part, he had chosen as his subsidiary centres towns lying either in the coastal districts or on the frontiers of the province—his object being to prepare suitable landing places, where *émigré* or foreign troops could be disembarked, to establish communications with neighbouring provinces, where additional support might be rallied, and also to have operational bases on the circumference of Brittany, from which pressure might be exerted on the interior.

The progress report which La Rouërie despatched to Calonne on 13 December 1791, showed, however, that difficulties were being encountered.[2] Along the whole coastline, from Lorient in the far west to St. Brieuc in the north, the local population seemed to be unresponsive or suspicious. Nantes—the chief commercial centre, and Brest, the chief naval base, were noted for their attachment to the revolution. Though some success had attended La Rouërie's efforts to win over the local militia, he found he could make little impression on the loyalty of the line regiments. Another handicap was the continuing emigration of the Breton nobility, which was a serious drain upon the potential military strength of the association. Despite warnings from Calonne about the need for destroying all incriminating documents and signatures, La Rouërie found it necessary, in order to inspire confidence in his local councils, to entrust them with certified copies of his own commissions signed by the *émigré* princes and copies of the formal deed of association, signed by himself. It is remarkable that, in the latter document, which appears to have been drawn up by La Rouërie without prior consultation with Calonne, the general aims of the association and its legality were supported by somewhat casuistical but not wholly ironical appeals to the principles of the revolutionary

[1] P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/374, La Rouërie to Calonne, 13 December 1791.
[2] Ibid.

constitution of 1791 ![1] In sending the minister a copy of the compact, La Rouërie explained that, after all, the covenant had to be framed in such a way as to be " adopted and signed in our own times and by men living in the present century ".[2] It was no doubt very convenient for the Bretons, who considered that they had been deprived of representation in the States General and were suffering from the loss of their ancient constitutional liberties, to invoke the violation of the Rousseauite principle contained in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, that law was the expression of the general will, in the formulation of which all citizens had the right of participating. It was convenient also for counter-revolutionaries to invoke both the right of constitutional amendment and the even more sacred right and duty of insurrection. If the natural and imprescriptible rights of man were defined as " liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression," then the members of the association, in covenanting together to preserve those rights, could hardly be represented as reactionaries. La Rouërie emphasized, however, in a covering letter to Calonne that the actions of the association, as distinct from its professions, would be bound by the powers conferred on him by the princes and by the engagement of its members, under article 2 of the covenant, to subordinate its policy in all things to that of the restored Provincial Estates.[3]

By the spring of 1792 it had become a matter of urgency for the association, hitherto a para-military organization, to be given a general staff and a chain of command. Once it had become clear that Austria and Prussia would soon be at war with revolutionary France, La Rouërie obtained from Coblenz a fresh commission placing the military command of the province entirely in his hands and subordinating any foreign troops which might invade Brittany to his direct operation control.[4] The association then became a Legion organized into divisions, sections and companies—with divisional headquarters in each of

[1] P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/373, " Association simplement défensive des honêtes gens contre attroupement de factieux, brigands ou malfaiteurs ". See Appendix.

[2] P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/374. [3] P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/373.

[4] This commission was dated 2 March 1792. *Archives Nationales* W. 274. Printed in Lenôtre, *Marquis de La Rouërie* pp. 94-6, which misdates the commission as 12 March.

the nine ecclesiastical dioceses.[1] Commissioned rank was not confined to members of the nobility but was given, on the commander's recommendation, strictly in proportion to the number of recruits raised by the members of the association.[2] At the higher level of the staff organization a certain representation was conceded to civilians. Non-military directives were to be issued by a peripatetic political council, consisting of one civilian from each diocese, the staff officers and the divisional commanders, presided over by La Rouërie. Operational plans were to be decided by a military council of officers specially summoned by the commander and a few civilians chosen from the political council.

Even when the military framework of insurrection had thus been created, La Rouërie was still faced by the difficult problems of finance and the co-ordination of strategy. Though the members of the local councils of the association had borne the main administrative costs involved, and though all covenanting members undertook to make voluntary contributions, the purchase of arms and equipment necessitated substantial subsidies.[3] The guarantees given by the princes to any loans raised on their behalf in the province did not provide a solution and all that Calonne could offer were the bank notes of the former Discount Bank and forged *assignats*.[4] The former, however, could only be discounted at a heavy loss, and the latter could only be put into circulation slowly and by persons prepared to risk their lives in doing so. Though financial aid of this kind did reach La Rouërie, it only came through at very irregular intervals and was inadequate to meet the real needs of his association.[5]

[1] P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/372, "Organisation Militaire", March 1792.

[2] Ensigns were expected to provide twenty recruits, sub-lieutenants thirty, lieutenants forty and captains sixty.

[3] See Appendix. Covenant of the Association, Articles 7-9.

[4] For the forgery of Discount Bank notes see J. Bouchary, *Les Faux-Monnayeurs sous la Révolution Française* (1946), Chapter I.

[5] Discount Bank notes to the value of 15,000 livres given by Calonne to La Rouërie in June 1791, when discounted lost a third of their value. In December 1791 Fontevieux brought La Rouërie 40,000 livres of similar credit notes, in March 1792 Calonne remitted 200,000 livres through his London agents. (P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/375 and 1/126/504.)

The larger strategical conception behind the conspiracy, which was probably La Rouërie's own, shows nevertheless that it had a leading rôle to play in the plans of the counter-revolutionary coalition. The key to this plan was the intention that the Breton Legion and its adherents should gain control of the department of Ille et Vilaine—the north-eastern section of the former province. Once this objective had been gained the insurgents would have an excellent strategical base of operations at Rennes, and would be in a position to sever the communications between Paris and the Breton peninsula. It was then confidently expected that the population of the extreme west, which had hitherto been lukewarm in its adherence to the counter-revolution, would go over to the rebels. It was also known that disaffection to the revolutionary government was rife both in Normandy and La Vendée and, if these areas revolted in sympathy, the insurgents would have at their disposal two important stretches of the coast-line, in Poitou and from St. Malo to the mouth of the Seine. The back door would thus stand open for the landing of *émigré* forces, which had been gathering in the Channel Islands and powerful diversionary movements in the west of France could be timed to coincide with the invasion of north-eastern France by the Austrian, Prussian and *émigré* armies. Paris would be caught between two forces advancing from the East and West and would be quickly overrun. The time-schedule arranged between Calonne and La Rouërie was that the eastern invasion should occur in September 1792 and that *émigré* landings in St. Malo and a general rising in Brittany should follow early in October.[1]

In the summer of 1792 La Rouërie's essential commitments, in accordance with these plans, were to build up the military strength of his Legion, so as to be able to swing his forces into action at the agreed moment, to prevent any premature local risings in the West and, so far as possible, to preserve the secret of the concerted strategy. In none of these tasks was he successful, partly because these aims proved to be incompatible. The recommendation to the local councils of the association to tamper

[1] Claude Basire, *Rapport sur la conjuration de Bretagne, fait au nom du comité de Sûreté-Générale*, 4 October 1793. Bibliothèque Nationale Le, 38491.

with the loyalty of the regular troops in the province was injudicious and resulted in the prosecution before the departmental criminal tribunals of those who attempted to carry it out.[1] All La Rouërie's attempts to put a stop to the emigration of the Breton nobility proved unavailing, and his desperate appeals to Calonne for arms and equipment at this period reveal the inadequacy of the supplies at his disposal.[2] At the end of May 1792 the military activity at La Rouërie's headquarters near St. Malo attracted the attention of the departmental authorities and the marquis and his staff soon found themselves fugitives from revolutionary justice. Throughout the summer, as the excitement in the West rose, La Rouërie was in hiding, under an assumed name, flitting from one remote country estate to another. The control of the local activities of his supporters from his peripatetic and indeed fugitive headquarters was inevitably incomplete. In this way premature risings occurred at different times at Rennes, Avranches and elsewhere and these were easily stamped out. The revolutionary authorities were alerted and the existence of the conspiracy could no longer be concealed.

Worst of all, and unknown to La Rouërie, his intentions were betrayed to the revolutionary government in Paris, by a boon companion of his youth and his former doctor—a man called Chévetel.[3] Though Chévetel had, before the revolution, obtained a post as consultant to the household of the Comte de Provence on La Rouërie's recommendation, he had been converted, after 1789, to advanced democratic views through his friendship with Dr. Marat, who had held a similar appointment to the bodyguard of the Comte d'Artois, and with Danton, who was one of his neighbours in Paris. On his way back to Brittany in June 1791 La Rouërie had incautiously spoken to Chévetel in

[1] F. Enaud, "Le Complot de La Rouërie et ses incidences judiciaires en Ille-et-Vilaine, 1792", *Actes du Soixante-Seizième Congrès des Sociétés Savantes* (Rennes, 1951), pp. 78-93.

[2] Writing to Calonne on 10 January 1792, La Rouërie noted as causes of the continued emigration rumours that noblemen who did not emigrate would lose their noble status. Wives of Breton nobles were also firmly convinced that their husbands would only be safe under the protection of the princes (P.R.O. P.C. 1/124/170). In June 1792 Fontevieux complained that of 4,000 rifles promised to La Rouërie by Calonne, only 1,000 had been delivered (P.C. 1/125/379).

[3] For Chévetel see Lenôtre, *Le Marquis de la Rouërie*, passim.

Paris of his contact with the *émigré* court at Coblenz, but had not revealed his plans for a counter-revolution in the West. Subsequently, however, Fontevieux—La Rouërie's contact man with Coblenz—had consulted Chévetel on ways and means of discounting in Paris the commercial paper of the Discount Bank, which Calonne had placed at the disposal of the conspirators. Knowing that Chévetel was an intimate friend of the marquis, and discovering that he knew of La Rouërie's connections with Calonne, Fontevieux had assumed that Chévetel was already cognizant of their plans and had revealed to him the full extent of the preparations for a Breton rising. Chévetel had kept this secret to himself and had let himself become involved in the conspiracy with the idea of betraying his associates at the right moment.[1]

Chévetel appears to have confided this information to Danton some time in the first week of August 1792 just before the overthrow of the monarchy. The rest of the month was spent by the doctor in Brittany in daily contact with the leading conspirators.[2] He returned to Paris at the beginning of September, just as the prison massacres were starting, and obtained an interview with Danton, who was then a member of the provisional executive council as Minister of Justice, on 3 September. What exactly passed between Chévetel and Danton on that occasion it is impossible to discover. Some of the evidence suggests that Danton did not pass on the information about La Rouërie's plans to his ministerial colleagues until early October.[3] Chévetel's own account, which unfortunately is not wholly trustworthy, states categorically that the Breton rising was not discussed.[4] All that is established is that Chévetel was despatched from Paris the same day as a commissioner of the executive council, armed with full powers to expedite the withdrawal of the regular troops and artillery from Brittany, in order that they could be redeployed against the invading Prussian armies on the north-eastern frontier.[5] He immediately returned

[1] Chévetel's Narrative, *Revue de la Révolution*, vii (1886), 25-6.
[2] Narrative of Desilles family, ibid. p. 65.
[3] Archives Nationales, F[7] 4590.
[4] *Revue de la Révolution*, vii. 27.
[5] Ibid.

to La Rouërie's headquarters at the château of La Fosse-Hingant, near St. Malo, but, having been delated by one of the conspirators, he was accused by the marquis of treachery. In reply Chévetel coolly admitted having revealed the conspiracy to Danton, but apparently convinced the Breton leaders that he had won over the minister to the counter-revolution, producing in support of this story an autograph letter of Danton to La Rouërie announcing his general sympathy with his objectives, and exhibiting his commission to transfer the regular troops and artillery to the eastern frontiers.[1] If these powers were used he suggested that the Breton rising would meet with only local resistance and the eastward march of the conspirators would be facilitated. La Rouërie seized on this chance eagerly, and admitted Chévetel into the innermost councils of the association, thereby ensuring his complete betrayal at a later stage.

The rest of my story is an anti-climax. Dumouriez's victory against the Prussians at Valmy on 20 September and the subsequent retreat of the invading armies ruined whatever chances of success the Breton rising had at that point. A further setback was that the British Government, prompted by the fears of the local inhabitants, laid an embargo on the transports in the Channel Islands waiting to land the *émigré* forces and their equipment at St. Malo.[2] The orders for a rising which had been timed for 10 October had to be countermanded, and the plans for a general insurrection in the West had to be deferred till the spring of 1793, when it was expected that Great Britain would have joined the European anti-revolutionary coalition.

Meanwhile, early in October, after it had become clear that the Prussian retreat was continuing and that the *émigré* armies were breaking up, Danton communicated his knowledge of the Breton conspiracy to the newly established committee of General Security.[3] La Rouërie's conspiracy thus became a matter for official counter-espionage, and owing to the activity and resource of Chévetel and Lalligand-Morillon, who were commissioned to

[1] For this letter see Lenôtre, op. cit. p. 159.

[2] *Archives Nationales*, F[7] 4590 (Plaq. 7). Report of Lalligand-Morillon to Committee of General Security, 19 October 1792.

[3] *Archives Nationales*, A.F. II 288.

undertake this work, every move of the conspirators in the winter of 1792 was reported back to Lebrun, the minister of Foreign Affairs.[1] Chévetel played the dual rôle of pseudo-conspirator and government secret agent to perfection. Together with Fontevieux he was entrusted by La Rouërie with the mission of concerting plans for a more general rising in the spring of 1793 with the retreating *émigré* princes.[2] In late October he even had interviews with Calonne himself in London, and when he returned to Paris in January 1793 from Aix-la-Chapelle, where he had seen the comte d'Artois, he was able to lay the revised and most secret operational plans of the conspirators before the revolutionary government.[3] Early in the following month Chévetel and Morillon were given plenary powers by the committee of General Security to arrest La Rouërie and his chief associates and thus to decapitate the conspiracy on the eve of the general rising in the West.[4] La Rouërie cheated his pursuers by dying at the end of January—overcome by his exertions and prostrated by the news of Louis XVI's execution. By invoking the assistance of the local National Guards and municipal authorities, Chévetel and Morillon were able to round up twenty-six of La Rouërie's leading associates by the first week of March and to bring them, under military escort, to Paris. In June these were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal and twelve of them, including Fontevieux, and several women, were executed.[5] The Breton rising, as planned by La Rouërie, had thus proved a fiasco.

[1] Morillon's reports to the committee of General Security and to Lebrun are preserved partly in F[7] 4590 (Plaq. 7) at the *Archives Nationales* and partly in the French Foreign Office archives.

[2] Chévetel and Morillon decided not to act against the conspirators at this point partly because they could not depend on the departmental criminal tribunals to condemn them and partly in order to discover their revised plans for a general rising (Morillon to committee of General Security, 19 October 1792, *Archives Nationales*, F[7] 4590 (Plaq. 7) 3).

[3] See Chévetel's narrative, *Revue de la Révolution*, vii. 34-5.

[4] *Archives Nationales* AF II*. 288, 7 February 1793. In order to guard against Morillon's treachery the committee of General Security commissioned another secret agent, Sicard, to watch his activities and supersede him if necessary (ibid.).

[5] *Archives Nationales*, W 273, 59. The *Acte d'accusation* before the Revolutionary Tribunal was dated 31 May 1793. The execution took place on 18 June.

In contrast with its immediate ineffectiveness, however, this conspiracy had far-reaching repercussions on the subsequent history of the counter-revolution. La Rouërie's first achievement was to demonstrate how the traditions of local particularism and provincial economic discontents could be exploited in the interests of reaction. Though he had been unable to arrest the progress of the emigration, he had seen how to make use of the local unemployment, which had been one of its consequences, by drawing into his service, as unobtrusive messengers, those wandering beggars who then infested the Breton countryside.[1] Similarly, he had been quick to recruit into his organization those salt-smugglers and revenue officers, whose livelihood had been destroyed by the Constituent Assembly's suppression of the *gabelle*.[2] Equally ingenious had been the " protection " which La Rouërie had sold to the more prosperous classes, who were afraid for their lives and property, in return for financial subsidies to his association. Such individuals had then been encouraged to make a show of " revolutionary zeal " and to allow themselves to become elected members of the local revolutionary municipalities, where they had proved extremely useful to the counter-revolutionaries as spies and informers.[3]

Secondly, contemporary opinion is agreed that *Chouannerie* —that indigenous form of Breton anti-revolutionary guerilla warfare—was the invention, not of the fabulous Jean " Chouan " but of La Rouërie himself.[4] *Chouannerie* in the subsequent period relied on the familiar tactics of all modern resistance movements—attacks on military convoys, night raids and ambushes by small detachments, the arrest of food supplies to the urban centres, the subversion of the revolutionary armies, the harassing of the local " constituted " authorities and the skilful exploitation of local topographical knowledge.[5] Such methods,

[1] Crétineau-Joly, *La Vendée Militaire*, i. 59-61.

[2] Before 1789 Brittany had not been subject to this impost, so that there had grown up a flourishing smuggling trade in " free " salt across its borders into the neighbouring provinces, such as Maine, where the duty was levied. According to Beauchamp, no less than 20,000 Breton families lived in this way at the end of the eighteenth century (*Histoire de la Guerre de Vendée*, III, 11).

[3] Ibid. ii. 51. [4] Puisaye, *Mémoires* (1803), ii. 578-82.

[5] The best description of these operations is, perhaps, the imaginative reconstruction of them in Balzac's historical novel, *Les Chouans* (1829). Professor

may, of course, have been forced on the Breton association by its lack of adequate military supplies and equipment. It is, however, evident that in devising these tactics La Rouërie had drawn on his experience as a leader of irregular forces in the American war, his profound insight into Breton popular psychology, and his appreciation of the potentialities of the peculiar physical features of the Armorican peninsula. *Chouannerie*, in this form, continued to plague successive revolutionary governments until Bonaparte healed the religious schism and pacified the Catholic west by his Concordat with the Papacy in 1801. Nor is it fanciful to trace the influence of *Chouannerie* in the Royalist conspiracies against Bonaparte's life and régime in 1801 and 1804, for Picot de Limoëlan had been one of La Rouërie's *aides de camp*, while Cadoudal was one of the *Chouan* leaders.

Lastly, La Rouërie seems to have been at least partly responsible for the conversion of Calonne and the *émigré* princes to the idea of regional civil war as the chief strategical conception of the counter-revolution. In 1792 Calonne and the *émigré* leaders had pinned their hopes, not so much on local insurrections in the interior of France, which they had some difficulty in controlling and subsidizing, as on the military forces of Austria and Prussia.[1] After the Prussian retreat and the disbandment of the *émigré* armies in the winter of 1792, Calonne realized that the best chances of a successful counter-revolution lay in the multiplication throughout France of regional revolts on the separatist pattern that had been set by La Rouërie and the Breton Association.[2] The terrifying progress of the risings in *La Vendée* and the Federalist revolts in central and southern France in the spring and summer of 1793 proved how serious a threat the new strategy was to the very existence of the Republic.

L. J. Austin informs me that Balzac's interest in *Chouannerie* was inspired by his admiration for the novels of James Fenimore Cooper.

[1] "Précis de la situation des affaires des Princes, tant au dehors qu'au dedans", 20 February 1792 (P.R.O. P.C. 1/131/117). They also had to bear in mind the objections of Louis XVI to civil war.

[2] If the testimony of Chévetel can be accepted, Calonne told him in mid-October 1792: "Il faut que d'un bout de la France à l'autre on suive le plan de M. de la Royrie. Déja l'on s'en occupe, sur plusieurs points, et les ordres et commissions sont déjà expédiés" (*Revue de la Révolution*, vii. 35).

In this fresh crisis the unity and indivisibility of France was only salvaged by the Jacobin dictatorship in Paris and the new and more terrible form of centralization, forged and controlled by the Committee of Public Safety.

Breton separatism, however, died hard. In the nineteenth century it assumed the less recalcitrant form of mere regionalism, of which the importance was cultural and economic rather than political.[1]

APPENDIX

" Association simplement défensive des honêtes gens, contre attroupement de factieux, Brigands ou Malfaiteurs." (Copy initialed by La Rouërie, sent to Calonne 14 December 1791, P.R.O. P.C. 1/125/373.)

Nous soussignés, citoyens de la Province de Bretagne, croyons devoir donner les motifs de notre présente association, déclarons, d'abord unanimement que le voeu le plus cher à notre coeur est celui de vivre libre ou mourir, qu'exprimait, par son organisation, notre ancien gouvernement Breton et que prescrit, d'ailleurs, l'article 6 de la section 5 du chapitre 1er de la constitution française du 3 Septembre 1791, et que notre intention n'est que de propager aucuns principes, ni de nous permettre aucuns actes qui puissent être pris pour une violation même indirect de ce serment.

Nous déclarons, de plus, qu'il doit être bien entendu qu'il n'exclut de notre part l'obéissance et la fidélité que nous devons au Roi, notre légitime souverain, et que nous regarderons au contraire comme nos ennemis déclarés tous ceux qui abusent de ses bienfaits et de sa tendre sollicitude pour son peuple, cherchent à affaiblir son autorité tutélaire, à diminuer ses prérogatives et à anéantir son trône par l'insinuation criminelle d'idées républicaines, à la propagation desquelles il est de notre devoir, en bons et fidèles sujets, de nous opposer de toutes nos forces.

Nous déclarons, enfin, que nous adoptons sans restriction ce principe élémentaire de la constitution actuelle, et qui se trouve consigné dans l'article 6 de la Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, que la loi est l'expression de la volonté générale, et que tous les citoyens ont droit de concourir personnellement à sa formation. Et, à ce sujet, nous observons que le principe des malheurs publics qui affligent, à ce moment, le Royaume, et en particulier la province de Bretagne, ne provient que de ce que dans la pratique on a trop méconnu cette théorie de législation, sans laquelle il n'y a plus de vraie liberté publique, que de là sont nées successivement ces factions dangereuses qui divisent le Royaume et que l'on connaît sous les dénominations de factions républicaines, royalistes, monarchiennes et autres ; que par là encore le respect dû à la Loi, s'est naturellement affaibli, dès que, d'un côté la naissance de toutes ces factions, et de l'autre, les murmures du peuple, n'ont que trop clairement manifesté qu'elle n'avait

[1] G. Pariset, " Histoire du Régionalisme Français ", *Études d'Histoire Révolutionnaire et contemporaine* (1929), pp. 287-313.

pas pour elle cette expression de la volonté générale, qui seule forme son plus imposant caractère.

Nous observons, de plus, que c'est surtout la Province de Bretagne qui peut plus que tout autre encore, se plaindre qu'on ait violé envers elle ce principe de la déclaration des droits que nulle loi ne peut être regardée comme telle, si elle n'est l'expression de la volonté générale, puisqu'elle n'a été convoquée, ni représentée régulièrement aux Etats Généraux de 1789, et puisqu'elle n'en a pas moins perdu son antique constitution et ses droits, franchises et libertés, contre le voeu formel de ses trois ordres, et même les dispositions précises de la grande majorité des cahiers des assemblées partielles de sénéchaussées, formées pour éluder et suppléer alors la convocation constitutionelle du tiers comme ordre politique et indivisible.[1]

Nous observons, enfin, que c'est encore la violation du même principe et le défaut d'assentiment général qui a déterminé et détermine encore journellement cette émigration désastreuse pour le peuple, non seulement des princes du sang, des grands du Royaume, des évêques, des anciens magistrats, des nobles, des riches propriétaires ; mais encore des artistes et des ouvriers en tout genre ; et qu'inutilement a-t-on eu et a-t-on recours pour suppléer cette expression de la volonté générale requise par la déclaration des droits, à des serments prêtés dans le désordre de la crainte, ou le tumulte de l'anarchie, puisqu'ils ne peuvent donner aux lois qu'un caractère de despotisme, loin de leur en imprimer un de convention franche, libre et volontaire entre tous les citoyens qu'elles doivent régir.

Nous déclarons, en outre, que nous adoptons encore, sans restriction, cette disposition de l'article 1er, section 3^{e} du chapitre 3 de la nouvelle constitution, qui consacre le droit indispensable au caractère de la monarchie qu'a le Roi de concourir à la formation de la loi, en lui reconnaissant celui d'y refuser son consentement ; nous faisons même profession de croire que ce droit ancien de la monarchie française est l'un des plus fermes remparts de la liberté publique, qui sans l'exercice libre de ce droit, pourrait bientôt se trouver compromise par la première faction assez audacieuse pour la vouloir enchaîner ou la subordonner aux projets de son ambition ou de ses vengeances.

Mais nous observons, encore, que la déclaration du Roi du 23 juin 1789 ; que le mémoire d'observation par lui adressé à l'Assemblée Nationale sur les arrêtés de cette assemblée des 4 août et jours suivants, et que sa protestation solennelle du 20 juin 1791, sont autant d'actes qui absolument contraires à l'acceptation qu'il a faite de la constitution, ne sont propres conséquemment qu'à fortifier les soupçons assez généralement répandus sur le défaut de liberté de cette acceptation.[2]

[1] According to an electoral regulation of 16 March 1789, Necker had laid it down that, whereas the Breton privileged orders should meet at St. Brieuc to draw up their *cahiers* and elect deputies, the representatives of the third estate should be elected, as elsewhere in France, in the assemblies of the *sénéchaussées* (A. Brette, *Recueil de documents relatifs à la convocation des Etats généraux de 1789*, i. 259-62). In protest the privileged orders had refused to elect representatives to the States General (J. Egret, " Les origines de la Révolution en Bretagne ", *Revue Historique*, ccxiii (1955), 211).

[2] For the Royal Proclamation of 20 June 1791 see J. M. Thompson, *French Revolution Documents, 1789-94* (1933), pp. 86-92. According to Etienne Dumont

Nous observons de plus que ces mêmes soupçons s'accroissent de l'outrageante captivité où sa Majesté était retenue à l'époque où cette constitution lui a été présentée, et surtout, de cette circonstance majeure que le défaut d'acceptation de sa part importait contre lui la perte de son trône et de sa couronne, surtout au milieu de la fermentation et de l'effervescence dont il était environné.

Instruits et certains par les déclarations des Princes, frères du Roi, qu'en proposant d'entrer en France avec une force suffisante, ils n'ont d'autre objet que d'assurer d'un côté la liberté dans laquelle le Roi doit enfin exprimer ses véritables intentions, et de l'autre, de donner au peuple, en le mettant à l'abri de tout despotisme, le droit de manifester aussi sans contrainte, son voeu sur la législation et sur le régime qui a multiplié ses charges en anéantissant son commerce et ses ressources.

Considérant que l'objet unique de leur entrée n'est conséquemment que de mettre la nation à lieu de reconnaître si les nouvelles lois qui la régissent, ont les deux caractères qui seuls les peuvent constituer, celui d'être l'expression de la volonté du peuple, et celui d'avoir été librement consenties par le Monarque, et que c'est par conséquent rendre hommage à la constitution elle-même, que de concourir avec eux à imposer silence aux factions et à prévenir les intrigues qui pourraient gêner l'expression de ce double voeu.

Considérant, d'ailleurs, que la Constitution elle-même reconnaît, article 1er du titre 7, que la Nation a le droit imprescriptible de changer quand il lui plaît, les lois constitutionelles, d'ou résulte que protéger le libre exercice d'un semblable droit en faveur de la nation, ce n'est que se permettre un acte autorisé et permis par la constitution actuelle.[1]

Considérant, en outre, qu'on ne peut pas se dissimuler que le mécontentement du peuple se propage de plus en plus ; que l'éloignement général qu'il témoigne pour les prêtres constitutionels, que la désertion également générale de leurs églises n'annoncent que trop clairement que le voeu de la grande majorité du peuple est contraire aux lois, qui ont divisé l'ancienne église, et anéanti le clergé français, sans aucuns motifs d'utilité publique.

Considérant qu'on ne peut pas se dissimuler davantage que la misère publique s'aggrave de jour en jour, que le commence languit de plus en plus ; que les anciennes ressources du peuple s'anéantissent ; et que cependant il voit, en murmurant, ses charges s'accroître, et jusqu'à la religion devenir pour lui la matière d'un nouvel impôt.

Considérant que son expérience actuelle, accelerée par le sentiment de ses propres souffrances et par l'inutilité de tous ses sacrifices passés, lui fait assez généralement désirer une prompte révision du régime auquel on l'a assujeti, en l'égarant par la promesse d'un Bonheur, dont il est fort éloigné de jouir, et qu'il ne peut trouver dans le nouveau systême.

the royal memorandum against the decrees of 4 August had been composed by Necker and was badly received by the Assembly (*Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux premières Assemblées Législatives*, ed. J. Bénétruy (1950), p. 106).

[1] No mention is here made of the restrictions placed on the right of constitutional amendment in Articles II to VII of Titre VII of the Constitution. See J. M. Thompson, op. cit. pp. 145-6.

Considérant, que s'est ici, plus que jamais, le cas de reconnaître et la nécessité de consulter la volonté générale, et celle d'avouer la souveraineté si vantée de la nation dans l'article 1^er^ du titre 3 de la constitution.

Considérant, que si l'assemblée constituante a professé publiquement le principe que l'insurrection était le plus saint des devoirs de la part du peuple ; quand lassé d'un régime quelconque, il voulait en adopter un autre plus utile et plus conforme à ses vrais intérêts, personne ne peut, à plus forte raison, blâmer une association paisible faite pour prévenir des dangers de l'insurrection en assurant au peuple le droit de manifester sa volonté d'une manière moins désastreuse.

Considérant, que cette volonté du peuple n'est actuellement étouffée et enchaînée que par son défaut de réunion en masse, résultant du démembrement des provinces, que par la défénse qui lui a été faite de se permettre aucunes délibérations sur les matières publiques dans ses assemblées primaires ou électorales,[1] que par la privation prononcée contre lui du droit de manifester son voeu d'une manière impérative dans ses pouvoirs à ceux qu'on dit être ses représants,[2] et que l'expression libre de cette même volonté générale est de plus comprimée par le grand nombre d'individus nouveaux qui doivent leur état et leurs fonctions publics à la révolution actuelle ; par ceux qui, par l'exaltation de leurs principes et de leurs idées, s'y sont rendus coupables, sinon d'excès, au moins de procédés repréhensibles, et plus encore par tous ceux, qui surchargés des bienfaits du Monarque, se sont par les plus coupables des ingratitudes, rendus criminels envers lui du crime de Lèze-Majesté et qui, pour se dérober aux peines capitales qu'ils ont encourues, multiplient aujourd'hui toutes les intrigues pour entretenir l'égarement du peuple, ou retarder l'émission de son voeu sur le régime auquel ils l'ont assujeti et dont ils maîtrissent et dirigent les ressorts.

Considérant, que cet état de choses est d'ailleurs infiniment ruineux pour la France, par la notoire dilapidation des finances employées tant au dehors qu'intérieurement, par les agents principaux de la révolution actuelle, à séduire et à corrompre tous ceux qu'on croit nécessaires ou à la maintenir ou à en compléter les résultats ; ce qui, avec la Banqueroute de l'état, présage au peuple une longue surcharge d'impositions excessives et extraordinaires.

Considérant, enfin, que la prompte rentrée en France des Princes, des Grands, des Nobles, des riches propriétaires, et des capitalistes émigrés, peut seul rendre aux manufactures du royaume leur activité ; au commerce son aisance, aux ouvriers leurs travaux, aux échanges ordinaires de la vie le numéraire qui seul en est le signe le plus réellement représentatif.

Sur tous ces motifs, uniquement animés de l'amour du bien public, ne désirant nous associer que pour, aux termes de l'article 2 de la déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, nous assurer respectivement liberté, propriété, sûreté, et résistance à l'oppression, un événement que lors de l'entrée des princes français dans le Royaume, des mal intentionnés leur prêtant calomnieusement contre leur patrie des vues hostiles qu'ils n'ont pas, les forces qui les accompagneront n'étant destinées qu'à réprimer les factions, et à protéger, tout à la fois, la liberté du Roi dans l'expression de son voeu, et la liberté du peuple dans

[1] See Titre III, chap. 1, section IV, Art. 1 of the constitution (J. M. Thompson, *French Revolution, Documents, 1789-94* (1933), p. 119).

[2] See Titre III, chap. 1, section III, Art. 7 (ibid).

la proclamation du sien, les mêmes mal intentionnés ne se portent eux-mêmes à des actes d'hostilité, de dévastation des propriétés ou d' insurrection contre les personnes dont l'opinion particulière ne seconderait pas leurs vues séditeuses et intéressées, nous en conséquence sommes convenus et avons promis, sous notre parole d'hommes, d'exécuter et nous conformer aux clauses qui suivent ; Article 1er

Nous déclarons nous associer pour lors de l'entrée de Monsieur et de Mgr. Comte d'Artois en France, concourir par les moyens qui nous seront indiqués, tant par Mr le Marquis de la Rouërie, chef de la présente association et son correspondant général, qu'en conséquence de ses instructions par les comités, dont il sera ci-après parlé, à maintenir dans l'intérieur de la province, l'ordre, la tranquillité et la paix, protéger le rassemblement de ses états, sur la convocation desquels nous avons lieu de compter, et nous défendre respectivement envers et contre tous en cas d'insurrection contre les biens ou les personnes, promettant au reste de ne nous porter jamais à aucune aggression et nous soumettre, dans le résultat, au voeu librement et spontanément émis par nos états régulièrement convoqués et assemblés.

Arte. 2.

Comme il serait difficile de détérminer les divers cas où il nous sera utile d'agir, nous promettons le faire conformément aux plans et instructions qui seront communiqués et donnés par notre dit Sieur de la Rouërie, et intermédiairement, par le comité établi dans la ville de notre résidence.

Arte. 3.

Dans chaque ville de la province ce comité sera composé de six membres, dont deux gentilshommes, deux écclésiastiques et deux membres du tiers ; et en outre d'un secrétaire. Les fonctions de ces comités seront de correspondre tant avec le chef de l'association, ci-dessus nommé, qu'entre eux et partout où besoin sera, et d'instruire le corps de l'association des diverses mesures qu'il lui conviendra de prendre suivant les circonstances pour le maintien de la paix et le bien-être de la Province.

Arte. 4.

L'association, en cas de guerre-civile, ou invasion dangereuse, s'armera seulement pour la protection et la défense des personnes et des biens des citoyens attaqués à raison de leurs opinions politiques ou religieuses. Les membres armés seront indemnisés lorsqu'ils seront en activité de service.

Arte. 5.

Chaque comité travaillera incessamment à l'organisation de tous les partis (?) qui doivent donner à l'association l'activité nécessaire.

Arte. 6.

Conformément aux intentions et promesses des Princes, les citoyens qui auront rendu le plus de services importants dans les divers objets de la présente association, leur seront indiqués pour être par le Roi promus aux places et emplois, qui servant de récompense à leurs services, les mettront à lieu de se rendre de plus en plus utiles à la chose publique, d'une manière plus générale et moins oragense.

Art^e. 7.

Chaque associé fournira un contingent, dont lui seul arbitrera le montant et dont le produit sera employé aux dépenses de l'association ; il lui en sera délivré quittance par le comité du lieu de sa résidence. Le compte de l'emploi sera toujours communiqué à première réquisition à M. de la Rouërie, chef de l'association, qui déclare ici s'obliger au nom des princes et aux fins de leur autorisation, de rembourser la dite avance, toutefois que d'après la même autorisation, il en aura dirigé ou approuvé l'emploi.

Art^e. 8.

La signature de chaque associé au pied du présent servira d'obligation pour cette contribution civique.

Art^e. 9.

Les frais de bureaux et correspondance et autres des comités ne seront point à la charge de l'association, mais seulement aux frais des seuls commissaires qui les composent.

Art^e. 10.

Chaque associé ne pourra contredire ni débattre les plans arrêtés et prescrits dans les comités. Chacun se promet ici union fraternelle, confiance, courage, assistance et protection.

Fait et arrêté en Bretagne.

THE MILITARY PAPERS OF COLONEL SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (1713-62)

By JAMES HAYES, M.A.

AMONG collections deposited in the John Rylands Library in recent years are the military papers of Colonel Samuel Bagshawe.[1] They illustrate many aspects of military and life administration in war and peace, in the middle years of the eighteenth century. The man who preserved them was not an important military officer, and he has only been rescued from the obscurity of the early army lists by his habit of keeping the letters and papers of his correspondents. His social rank, although it commanded respect, was not exalted. In that he was an officer typical of his age and profession, a brief sketch of his career will convey some idea of the type of officer frequently encountered in the army of the early Hanoverians.

Samuel Bagshawe was nephew and heir to William Bagshawe of Ford Hall in Derbyshire, a country gentleman of uncertain temper to whose properties he succeeded in 1756. Left fatherless before his birth, Samuel was brought up in his uncle's house, a specially favoured child, since William Bagshawe had no direct heirs. However, an ebullient and capricious temperament brought him into serious conflict with his uncle whilst still in his teens and threatened to demolish his excellent prospects. His behaviour became the object of much censure. Unable to bear any further restraint, and very probably in a fit of temper, he enlisted as a private soldier in General Anstruther's regiment of foot in 1731, at the age of eighteen. This was a decisive step and one on which he had ample time to reflect, and to repent of his incredible folly, during seven years' service

[1] These form part of the Bagshawe Muniments deposited by Major F. E. G. Bagshawe of Ford Hall, Derbyshire. Some of this material was used by W. H. G. Bagshawe in *The Bagshawes of Ford* (1886) which also contains extracts from other documents destroyed by the author when he sorted the family papers. The brief account of Colonel Samuel Bagshawe which follows is taken from the long account in this book.

in the garrison of Gibraltar, where Anstruther's regiment were stationed at this time. He had relinquished a comfortable life and had wilfully thrown away the prospect of succeeding to his uncle's estates, or so it seemed. Only after a long time, and with considerable difficulty, did his friends at home procure his discharge from the army and secure a reconciliation with his uncle. There was, however, a credit side to this long travail. Bagshawe returned to England a sadder but a wiser man, his character having lost some of the capriciousness and instability that had marred the course of his early life. A clear conception of the superior cast of Bagshawe's character can be formed from the scribbled drafts that he preserved of many of his letters and from the correspondence of his friends and brother officers which forms the greatest part of this collection.

His military career is an interesting one, and occurs at a stirring time, embracing as it does two major European wars. On his return from Gibraltar he spent two quiet years at home before being given an ensigncy by his uncle's neighbour, the duke of Devonshire, the largest land-owner in Derbyshire and then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This was in 1740. Three years later he was a captain, and in 1749 he became lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, the 39th Foot. These steps were due almost entirely to his patron, the third duke of Devonshire, and his son, Lord Hartington, later the fourth duke. Meanwhile he had seen active service. In 1746 he accompanied an expedition to the French coast in the capacity of a major of brigade, that is, as his brigadier's assistant for staff duties. Here he was so unfortunate as to lose one of his legs, but much to his relief he was permitted to serve on in the army.

With the peace of 1748 the 39th were sent back to Ireland, where they continued to serve until a few years later they made history as the first British regiment to serve in India. Bagshawe was allowed to accompany the regiment despite his disability and acted as second-in-command to his colonel, John Adlercron, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the British forces in the country. Unfortunately his service in India was nothing but a trial and a disappointment. The French thought it prudent to cease hostilities with the arrival of the troops from

England; his superior, himself involved in tiresome disputes with the Company's officials, denied him an opportunity of field service when war again broke out; and, above all, his health made a rapid deterioration, until he was at last forced to return to England, having already lost one eye and being in grave danger of losing the other.

At home once more, Bagshawe's main preoccupation was with promotion. He was now a senior lieutenant-colonel, to whom the colonelcy of a regiment could not long be deferred, or so he thought. Yet even his powerful friends could make little headway in the face of the king's seeming ingratitude. When Lord Ligonier, the commander-in-chief, presented Bagshawe's memorial to George the Second, that monarch replied ungraciously, but to the point, "How can he serve, wanting a leg and an eye?", unmindful of the fact that poor Bagshawe had lost both in his service.

At last, despairing of ever obtaining a colonelcy by the usual means, he took the drastic step of offering to raise a regiment for the Government at his own expense with the help of his Irish relations by marriage, the Caldwells of Castle Caldwell. This was a desperate remedy indeed, for Bagshawe was not a wealthy man, and his decision amazed his relatives who considered, not without reason, that he had by no means been treated with the consideration to which his merit and services entitled him.

The offer was accepted, and the new regiment was numbered the 93rd. It had a short and sorry history, for it was disbanded with many other new regiments at the cessation of hostilities in 1763, and during its short life it had the misfortune to be treated as ill as its colonel. Despite the efforts of its field officers, three fine men of much service and experience who fashioned it into an efficient unit, it was destined never to proceed on active service but to remain in Ireland and suffer its best men to be drafted out of it, time after time, to replenish regiments abroad whose ranks had been thinned by service and disease.

Bagshawe himself was not to see its end, for he died in July 1762, at the early age of forty-nine. His passing was lamented by a large body of friends, old and new, not least among them his lieutenant-colonel and major in the 93rd who had grown to

like and respect him for his sterling qualities of heart and mind.

The military papers which he left serve as a memorial to himself, his regiments and his brother-officers. Their extent is considerable, and they form, in all probability, the largest collection of its kind in the country.[1] They amount in all to some 2,500 individual items, of which over 400 relate to the history of the unfortunate 93rd Regiment, and nearly 600 to the activities of Bagshawe and the 39th in India, 1754-7, whilst there are over 800 items of correspondence from brother officers, mostly of the 39th Regiment, on the backs of which Bagshawe had scribbled, in many instances, the drafts for his replies.[2] Besides these important groups there are over 500 items relating to military accounts and receipts, and the remainder contains, besides miscellaneous fragments, valuable regimental and company returns and muster rolls.

To indicate the directions in which this collection augments knowledge of the British army in the mid-eighteenth century would be to presuppose the existence of a body of published authoritative works upon the subject. But apart from several articles in the *Journal for Army Historical Research* and the

[1] Particularly because of their wide range of topics and correspondents, and their concentration with the affairs of one generation, 1740-63. Smaller collections of some interest are the Irwin Papers in the Central Library, Leeds, part of which contains the military papers of Rich, fifth viscount Irwin (1688-1721), colonel of the 16th Regiment 1714-17 and of the King's Dragoon Guards 1717-21, and the papers of the Mackenzies of Suddie in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 39187-39211 *passim*, which include two interesting volumes dealing with the military life of Lieutenant-Colonel John Mackenzie. The Carr-Ellison MSS. in the Central Library, Gateshead-on-Tyne, contain many letters from two military members of the family, Cuthbert Ellison, who died a senior general officer in 1785 and Robert Ellison, his younger brother, who died in North America, when colonel of the 44th Regiment, in 1756. The letters of Lieutenant-Colonel William Burrard, B.M. Add. MSS. 34, 207, are another contribution to knowledge of military life in the 1740s. Several of the printed volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (H.M.C.) contain material relating to military history 1714-63, notably the *Frankland-Russell-Astley* (Chequers Court) *MSS.*, volume I of the *Stopford-Sackville MSS.*, the Irwin and Molesworth MSS. in *Various Collections VIII*, and the *Townshend MSS.*, but none of these has the breadth and scope of the Bagshawe Collection.

[2] Respectively 2/1/1-403, 2/5/1-2/6/294, and 2/2/1-824. A detailed handlist has been printed.

occasional one in the established historical journals, the only comprehensive full-scale work on the army in the early Hanoverian period is from the pen of Sir John Fortescue, the historian of the British army, and this is more a chronological study of campaigns than of the troops, their officers and their administration.[1] Fortescue's general verdicts have been accepted by political historians, but those relating to matters other than the course of war are not altogether satisfactory. Private collections such as the Bagshawe papers shed a more kindly light upon the officers and officials of the period, and upon their activities, than some of the official correspondence used by Fortescue. Since the latter worked upon the eighteenth century army in the early years of this century many new sources of information have been made available and valuable work has been done, mainly in articles; but there has been no collation of information on a greater scale. The difficulty appears to be not so much a lack of material as a want of qualified historians with an interest in this period of military history and sufficient time at their disposal to use the material and make it available.

In the period covered by Samuel Bagshawe's military career the army consisted of a *congeries* of self-contained units, the regiments, which were organized in two separate establishments, the English and the Irish,[2] and commanded by the king in person who exercised in practice the fullest use of his nominal control over the army. It was not merely a historical accident which made George the Second the last English sovereign to command his troops in action. The royal directives were issued to the army by the secretary at war, in effect the king's private secretary for military affairs, who was far from being the independent figure depicted by Fortescue. Both George the Second and his father were keenly interested in their army and resented parliamentary interference with it and political influence in it, although they could hardly stop either vice under the social and political conditions prevailing at the time.

[1] Sir J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army* (13 vols., 1899-1930). Vol. ii (1910) covers the period 1714-63.

[2] There had been a Scots, which was merged with the English at the union of 1707.

The War Office, with its handful of clerks, was a tiny organization; mainly because there was little for it to do but send out the king's directives, handle routine orders and returns and sooth disputes. The army administered itself. In accordance with routine instructions and under the supervision of the secretary at war and the board of general officers, the proprietory colonels of regiments, directly or indirectly, fed, paid, clothed and equipped their units from the sums issued to them for the purpose by the paymaster-general. The central office and its head, the secretary at war, was concerned only with the abuses and shortcomings of the system. Arms, ammunition and powder, and camp-equipment, when required, were supplied by the board of ordnance under a certificate from the secretary's office.

As remarked, the burden of these duties fell not on the war office staff, but on the colonels and captains of the regiments of the army, and, more particularly, upon the regimental agents whose lives could have been anything but carefree. On behalf of their colonels, who had empowered them by letter of attorney to negotiate in their name with the respective departments of Government, they had to keep the regimental finances running smoothly, usually with the help of a regimental paymaster, and eventually account for them with the Treasury. Bad accounts meant a delay in the payment of essential money that was usually already in arrears. This meant great difficulty in administering the regiment. It was no wonder that agents occasionally defaulted, and sometimes went so far as to commit suicide.

The captains' share in this weary travail is not generally realized. They too shouldered a heavy burden of responsibility. They paid their men, recruited them, maintained their dress, arms and accoutrements in good order, not to mention caring for them when sick and burying them when dead, on a slender allowance that was often upset by the thoughtless deserter who absconded with his uniform and weapons. Quite frequently the captains were out of pocket in the faithful performance of their duties. A capable and honest sergeant was a necessity for them.

The regiments, whether of horse, dragoons or foot, were, as already mentioned, self-contained units commanded by a

proprietory colonel who, not infrequently, had bought his regiment. Since he was usually a general officer of declining age he was seldom with his regiment. The chief executive officer was the lieutenant-colonel, with a major as second in command. Both were usually officers of long service and great experience. The companies in a regiment of foot and the troops in regiments of horse or dragoons were commanded by captains, all save three, which were commanded by the field officers of the regiment, that is, by the colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major. Since the colonel was not often with the regiment, his troop or company was looked after by a special officer, called the captain-lieutenant. There were three officers to each company or troop. Generally speaking, regiments of foot in England mustered around 600 men, and regiments of horse and dragoons around 400. These figures were less in " Irish " regiments, and considerably more on active service.

The two establishments were entirely separate administrative entities, paid by and accountable to the respective treasuries of the two countries. The army itself came under the orders of the monarch wherever it happened to be, but his secretary at war, who issued orders to troops in England, Scotland and the colonial garrisons, had no direct authority in Ireland. There the orders came from the secretary to the lord-lieutenant or the lords justices of the kingdom, who were the king's representatives in Ireland. The Irish military establishment had been imposed on Ireland by act of the English parliament, and its usual size within this period was limited to 12,000 men. Since Ireland was quiet there was no need to keep regiments at full strength, which enabled many more regiments to be kept in the country than would otherwise have been the case, albeit they were much below operational strength. They provided a useful reserve in time of emergency. When the English parliament could be persuaded that an expansion of the army was essential, regiments were taken from Ireland, recruited to full strength and could then be used for service anywhere, though as an English charge, since away from Ireland they ceased to be a legitimate charge on that country's exchequer. On the cessation of hostilities the former " Irish " regiments, pruned to their

previous size, returned to Ireland, where the additionals raised to supply their place were then disbanded.

Numbers on the English charge, which included troops in the colonies as well as those at home, were approximately 23,000 men before the war with Spain broke out in 1739, rising to some 76,000 by 1748, the last year of that war; whilst the close of the Seven Years' War saw around 100,000 men on the accounts, which gives some indication of the demands of global war in the mid-eighteenth century.[1]

Abroad the army was the weary custodian of the nation's overseas possessions, and at home, where the majority of regiments were, the unpopular hand-maid of the law in default of a properly organized security force. Quartered in small detachments throughout the country, it carried out most of the duties now associated with the police force. Its presence was not appreciated. A hundred years made little difference to popular feeling on the subject, for "a surly democrat" of the post-Waterloo period observed to a young officer who was his enforced guest that "soldiers in time of peace are chimneys in summer", which was a sentiment shared by most Englishmen.[2]

The Bagshawe collection is valuable for the light it casts upon some of the darker corners of this setting.[3] Perhaps its most important contribution lies in the fact that by virtue of the large numbers of letters from Bagshawe's brother officers, both junior and senior, which it includes, it is possible to gain an intimate and realistic picture of the regimental officer of the day. This is something which it is difficult to acquire from anything but a collection of this size, which allows daily thoughts and feelings over private and regimental matters, great and small, to be described by different pens. This insight into the personal side

[1] For the annual estimates see the relevant volumes of the *Journals of the House of Commons* printed in 1803.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, clxxiii (1937), 133.

[3] The most useful books for the general background, on which the previous paragraphs are based, are Fortescue's *History*; C. M. Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown* (2 vols, 1869); E. E. Curtis, *The Organisation of the British Army in the American Revolution* (1926); A Forbes, *A History of the Army Ordnance Services* (3 vols., 1929), vol. i relevant; and the *Report on the State of His Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, June 1746*, printed in *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons* (1803), ii. 75-211.

of regimental soldiering enables an estimate to be formed of the degree of feeling which these men had for their calling and of the spirit in which they approached their duties and bore their hardships.

An obvious merit is the wealth of material it provides for the regimental historian. There is a great deal relating to the 39th Regiment, in which Bagshawe served for seventeen years, during two of the highlights of its early history, its participation in Hawke's famous sea-fight off Ushant in 1747 while doing duty as marines on board his fleet, and its epic tour of duty in India 1754-8.[1] It is unfortunate that Bagshawe's 93rd Regiment is not represented by a direct descendant since it was disbanded at the close of the war which brought it into being, but the papers relating to it during Bagshawe's tenure of the colonelcy provide an excellent, detailed picture of the officers who moulded it into an effective body and also a continuous history of its activities for all but the last period of its short existence.

The machinery of military administration at this time is familiar in outline. But its detail and efficiency at regimental level are not so generally known. Here it is possible to follow the daily course of administration over a considerable period, to establish the procedure of the time in all its intricacies over a wide range of subjects from promotion by purchase to the correct method of obtaining more ammunition from the tight-fisted board of ordnance, and to gauge the efficiency of the methods employed.

The work of regimental agents, who were closely involved in this war of *paperasserie* and procedure, has never been studied in detail, although their place in the military administration of the period was a most important one. There are in the collection nearly 200 items from the different agents of the 39th

[1] It is unfortunate that an excellent history of the Dorset Regiment, whose first battalion was formerly the 39th Regiment, was published (1947) before the Bagshawe muniments became available. It was written by C. T. Atkinson. The list of casualties in the companies of the 39th present at Ushant is in 2/4/103, and a complete set of monthly returns for October 1754–September 1756 inclusive, during which time the regiment was in India, is to be found in 2/4/143-165 and 2/5/188, 253. There is a general return of the 39th for May 1752 in 2/4/140-141, and one for the 93rd for 1761 in 2/1/227-228.

Regiment, which illustrate the scope and the amount of the work which descended on these gentlemen.[1]

By no means least, if last, the papers shed light, from a level below that of Government itself, upon some of the workings of the Irish military establishment. The 39th moved from the Irish to the English establishment in 1743 and returned to it in 1748. They left it for their brief Indian tour, but returned to Ireland after their voyage home. The 93rd Regiment was raised in Ireland and remained on the Irish establishment until it was disbanded. Three of these principal contributions to knowledge will be examined in a little detail : the Irish establishment, the regimental agents, and the regimental officers.

The Irish military establishment is shrouded in some mystery and many of its inner workings are unfamiliar to historians. This is so largely because of the destruction of the Irish records forty years ago and the comparatively few records relating to Ireland in the early eighteenth century in the Public Record Office. Writing on the subject in 1949 in the first number of *The Irish Sword*, the Journal of the Military History Society of Ireland, S. H. F. Johnston drew the attention of Irish historians to the many gaps in our knowledge and sought to enlist their aid. Among the points on which he wished to have more information was the matter of the lord-lieutenant's right to grant commissions, and the relations which subsisted between the latter and the military commander in Ireland.[2]

The lord-lieutenant undoubtedly possessed the power of direct appointment, and of recommendation, to military posts on the Irish establishment and among the regiments there. This delegation of the royal prerogative was occasioned by political considerations. The lord-lieutenant, and in his absence the lords-justices, passed essential measures through the Irish parliament by means of the judicious disposal of patronage, of which military preferment was but a part. This much is, of

[1] In 2/2 from Desbrisay, Ladeveze, Levett, and Calcraft, and in 2/1 from Montgomery, the agent of the 93rd Regiment. Four of Calcraft's letter-books are in B.M. Add. MSS. 17,493-17,496, and about seventy letters of Richard Worthington, agent to Rich, fifth viscount Irwin when he was colonel of the 16th Regiment, 1714-17, are among the Irwin Papers at Leeds.

[2] *The Irish Sword*, i. 34.

course, generally known. It is the extent of the lord-lieutenant's power which requires elucidation.

Samuel Bagshawe owed his first three commissions up to and including the rank of captain entirely to his patron, William, third duke of Devonshire, when he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and they did not cost the recipient a penny although they represented £1,500 worth of preferment, since they were given without purchase. The lord-lieutenant seems to have been able to appoint junior officers to regiments upon the Irish establishment without a great deal of regard to the wishes of their colonels. This Bagshawe found out when, in due course, he decided to raise a regiment for Government at his own expense. The operation of the same power that had been so convenient for him when he was a junior officer, ambitious for promotion and secure in the esteem of his powerful patron, was to become displeasing to him when he became a colonel himself. He seems to have had little choice in the selection of officers for the 93rd, most of whom were appointed by the lord-lieutenant in response to his own or other people's wishes. Among these officers was one who was destined to give him a good deal of trouble. This was Francis Flood, the nephew of Warden Flood, who in 1760 became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.[1] His commission as lieutenant in the 93rd Regiment was procured for him by his uncle from the lord-lieutenant, John, fourth duke of Bedford, without reference to Samuel Bagshawe.[2] These instances illustrate the exercise of the lord-lieutenant's power of direct appointment.

[1] See 2/1/368 and 371 in particular.

[2] 2/1/49. Writing in 1761 Lieutenant-General Cuthbert Ellison of Hebburn stated that the lord-lieutenant could, without reference elsewhere, appoint to vacant ensigncies and cornetcies, and recommend, usually with success, to the higher vacancies, Gateshead, Central Public Library, Carr-Ellison MSS., A 21 letter of 31 January 1761; but this seems to assess the lord-lieutenant's powers at their lowest. The duke of Bedford when lord-lieutenant gave a company in the 90th Regiment to a young Welshman, the son of a Caernarvonshire baronet in 1760. (P.R.O., W.O. 1/609, 61) fol. There is an interesting *quid pro quod* arrangement between Calcraft and the duke when one of the former's friends was assisted in his promotion in the Irish establishment in B.M. Add. MS. 17,495 fol. 237. See also *H.M.C., Stopford-Sackville MSS.*, i (1904), 169, where Lord Chesterfield details the military preferment he secured for his pages. The secretary at war had nothing to do with Irish appointments, but he was notified after they had been made in order that he might get the commissions signed in

His great influence in recommending to all vacancies upon the Irish establishment certainly extended to the highest military ranks. He had a distinct say in the appointment of officers to be colonels of regiments, although his recommendations were not always accepted, since colonelcies were lucrative posts keenly contested in political circles, and sometimes the king had to appoint men whose backers it was expedient to assuage. The lord-lieutenant was, therefore, not always served, but his wishes counted for a great deal. When old General Ffolliott, colonel of the 18th Regiment, died in 1762 the duke of Devonshire wrote to the lord-lieutenant to recommend Bagshawe for the vacant regiment, saying that he should feel much obliged if it were done.[1] An officer who stood high in the lord-lieutenant's esteem could look forward to being assisted in his career. Robert Sandford, a young lieutenant-colonel of thirty-one who was a protégé of John, fourth duke of Bedford, was quarter-master-general in Ireland when his patron procured the colonelcy of the 66th for him in the summer of 1758. A few months later a vacancy occurred in an older regiment unlikely to be disbanded at the peace, and Bedford promptly secured it for Sandford, besides "fixing a scheme" for him to remain quarter-master-general despite his promotion to a colonelcy.[2]

The lord-lieutenant certainly recommended to vacancies among the number of general officers allowed upon the establishment. In 1759 Major-General John Adlercron, the 39th's colonel, heard that there was to be an addition to their number and sent a memorial to the lord-lieutenant urging his claims for

the office of the one of the secretaries of state. See P.R.O., W.O. 1/602, fols. 53, 255, 279.

[1] 15/1/30.

[2] 2/2/455. It was customary for the Q.M.G. not to have a regiment in addition to his employment, which was worth £365 a year. The lord-lieutenant's influence in the disposal of regiments was considerable. In 1752 Sir John Whitefoord, a Scottish baronet and colonel of a dragoon regiment in Ireland, was anxious to assist his younger brother Charles to a colonelcy on that establishment, but he was rather doubtful of Charles's success, since he "had heard a bird whistle, that the Recommendation of the last two who gott Regiments, was only meant to serve a third Person, who was recommended at the same time. Now as this Person is still in your way", he continued, "I don't know what to think. Besides, as the Ld Lieut has gott two Regiments lately, won't the King name to the first vacancy himself?" (W. Hewins (ed.), *Whiteford Papers* (1898), pp. 113-14).

due consideration. Whereupon, he related to Bagshawe, the latter " was pleased to give me for an answer, that such an employment required Young & Active people ".[1]

Respecting the relative position of the lord-lieutenant and lords-justices with the military commander in Ireland, there is little doubt that the latter possessed no effective say in anything save routine administration and measures for the defence of the kingdom. In many matters he was purely an adviser, and like all advisers his influence varied from person to person. The lord-lieutenant's full title indicated his plenary powers. He

[1] 2/2/42. The appointment of general officers to the Irish staff was, however, wholly at the king's pleasure, and the letters notifying their appointment always ran, " whereas His Majesty is pleased to place ", etc. This is in contrast to other appointments in which the lord-lieutenant's advice and consent is part of the preamble. See W.O. 8/3/ fols. 38-41, 61-63, 69, 74 for appointments in the 'thirties and 'forties.

On the whole question of the lord-lieutenant's military patronage the *Dropmore Papers* (H.M.C.) provide an insight into the situation of affairs thirty years later, during the second term of office of George Grenville, first marquis of Buckingham, lord-lieutenant 1787-9. He complained bitterly that his careful government of Ireland was being jeopardised by his inability to secure what he wanted in the line of the military patronage that he conceived was his due, and he charged the king with trying to take from him " every degree of army patronage " (Vol. i, p. 456 See also pp. 175-6, 309-10, 357-8, etc.). Buckingham undoubtedly looked upon the lord-lieutenant's military patronage as an inalienable right (pp. 344, 358). It was something of a shock to him to find that it was founded on nothing more than general practice. On examination, the instructions to the lord-lieutenant contained no hint of a right to military patronage. His brother stated that " both in the commission and in the instructions to the Lord-Lieutenant, all military promotions are expressly reserved to the King and . . . they do not fall in the line either of those offices which the Lord-Lieutenant himself disposes of, or of those on which the King declares his intention of waiting for the Lord-Lieutenant's recommendation ". Pitt, the prime-minister, wrote to the same effect, " I cannot, however, find that the general rule is founded in anything but practice, or that there is any such promise as you suppose [to await the Lord-Lieutenant's recommendation] in the instructions. . . . There is a clause containing a promise of this nature, but it refers only to ecclesiastical and civil offices ". There was, however, this general convention which had always applied, of which " the practice and the understanding certainly is, and it is so recognised in Lord Sydney's letter, that the Lord-Lieutenant should recommend to all commissions below the rank of colonel " (Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, *Memoirs of the Courts and Cabinets of George III* (4 vols., 1853-5), i. 404-5). The *Memoirs* contain some of the replies to Buckingham's letters printed by the H.M.C. The dispute that occasioned this correspondence indicates that the considerable military patronage exercised by the lords-lieutenant of Ireland was founded on usage rather than prescription.

was " lord-lieutenant-general and general governor ", whilst the military officer was specifically stated in his letter of appointment to be lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief " under the government there ".[1]

The civil authorities dealt with all applications, recommendations and memorials relating to officers, which seem to have gone straight to them and not via the commander-in-chief. Colonel Adlercron spoke to the chief secretary, or to Mr. Waite, secretary to the lords-justices, on such matters.[2] It was entirely up to the chief secretary whether memorials were sent over to England or not. Lord George Sackville, when chief secretary to his father, the duke of Dorset, refused to forward a request that major Matthews Sewell of the 39th be allowed to sell his commission ; and he was extremely displeased when captain-lieutenant Wray of the same regiment sent an additional memorial towards his promotion privately to England on the genuine assumption that the official recommendations had already gone from Dublin Castle, which they had not. Lord George, reported a regimental correspondent, " took greater offence at Wray's proceeding than can well be expressed " and continued " inexorable ". He ordered all the purchase money to be withdrawn from the hands of the agent, and thus occasioned " a Dead Stop of Promotion " in the regiment.[3]

The day to day orders for the troops came from the secretary to the lord-lieutenant or the lords-justices, paralleling the English system where the orders came from the king's secretary for military affairs, the secretary at war. The commander-in-chief's duties appear to have been purely military, and to have been restricted to matters connected with recruiting men, reviewing troops, ordering military exercises, and to a general concern with military administration.[4] He sent reports to England of the state of the Irish regiments, carrying on a general liaison, and he was probably responsible for the defence of the kingdom. He was concerned with military patronage and preferment only

[1] See P.R.O. W.O. 8/3/ fol. 75.

[2] 2/2/4-5, 11, 15. For the organisation of " the military department " in the lord-lieutenant's office in 1777, see *H.M.C., Stopford-Sackville MSS.*, i. 245.

[3] 2/2/4 and 2/2/280.

[4] E.g. 2/2/25, 33, 296, 294.

in an advisory capacity, and had no authority on such matters himself. His influence would depend in great measure upon his personal relations with the lord-lieutenant.

The Irish establishment was in no way under the thumb of the secretary at war nor yet under the direct orders of the English commander-in-chief when one was appointed. An interesting demonstration of the complete separation of powers, and an object lesson in the inferior position of the Irish commander-in-chief, who is not mentioned in the skirmish detailed below, is afforded by the Bagshawe papers.

At the end of 1748 the 39th Regiment was at Bristol, awaiting a fair wind to take them to Ireland. When part of the regiment embarked upon the transports Lieutenant Robert Supple " took it into his head to behave very indecently & imprudently " to Lieutenant-Colonel Matthews Sewell, the commanding officer. Sewell immediately placed him in arrest, and wrote to the secretary at war and to the colonel of the regiment desiring a court-martial on Supple.

The regiment meanwhile crossed to Ireland where, of course, it came upon that establishment and ceased to belong to the English one. There Supple's friends, greatly aided by the speaker of the Irish House of Commons, urged Sewell to lay aside the prosecution and be content with an apology ; but he was not to be mollified. Captain Grant reported what was supposed to have passed between Sewell and the speaker. Sewell said :

> that as he had reported him to the Duke,[1] the Secretary at War, Lord Harrington [2] & the Lords Justices it was out of his power to forgive it, to which he was answered that neither the Duke nor the Secretary at War had any business with it, [that] the Regiment was on this Establishment and he had no business to Report it any where else ; he [Sewell] said as the Duke was General of the Army it was his Duty to Report it to him, & upon his mentioning the Duke on several occasions, in that affair, the Speaker gave him to understand that he had better drop that, that the Duke had no command here, and that the Lords Justices were quite independent of him.[3]

What is most illuminating about this is that it occurred when Cumberland was captain-general and at the height of his prestige and power, at a time when the central control of the army was

[1] William, duke of Cumberland, captain-general of the army, 1746-57.
[2] Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1746-50. [3] 2/2/238 and 245.

more unified and firmer in touch than at any other time in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Among the other points on which Mr. Johnston sought information were the precise nature of garrison duty in Ireland and the obscure question of recruiting in Ireland. On the first head he desired " a more detailed and more convincing picture " of the activities of regiments there. This is certainly provided by the collection. Military routine in time of peace is illustrated in the letters of a number of regimental correspondents between 1749 and 1752, and at the more frenzied pace of war-time activity in the large bundle of papers relating to the 93rd from its raising up to the time of Bagshawe's death two and a half years later.[1]

There is a great deal of useful information in the various letters on the question of recruiting which was, after all, of the greatest importance. As regularly as clockwork a large body of officers departed from each regiment the moment the annual review, the highlight of the regimental year, was over in mid-summer, and spent the ensuing six months endeavouring to recruit sufficient men to balance the yearly wastage caused by discharge, death and desertion.

Regiments in Ireland only recruited Irishmen in time of emergency. It was otherwise forbidden by general regulation and officers recruited either in their native areas or where directed by their colonel or by government.[2] This much has long been generally known and is exemplified by the Bagshawe correspondence, which shows officers of the 39th Regiment proceeding to all parts of the compass in England, Scotland and Wales to recruit their men. Since the officers were always of mixed nationality the regiments would always contain a number of men from each kingdom in the Union.

[1] Particularly in the letters of Adlercron and Sewell in 2/2; 2/1 for the 93rd.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Windus of the 93rd had views on the choice of a recruiting station. " I am really of Opinion when officers go home on the Recruiting Service, they are not quite so Diligent as when at a strange place, & never tire of living with their Friends, Consequently don't take all the pains they should do to forward the Business they are sent on, & I believe in that, I am Not Singular in my Opinion, I don't mean that all Officers do so, but very young Gent^{n} are apt to be a little Giddy & to mind their Country Diversions more than Recruiting, whereas in Other places where they live at their own Expense, they must Mind their Business more, or run in Debt, w^{ch} indeed is with Difficulty avoided " (2/1/46).

There were very few Irishmen in the 39th Regiment during Bagshawe's time in it. A list of Irish soldiers was compiled in 1751 which shows that there were thirty-one of them in the regiment in 1749 and only sixteen two years later, and nearly all of these had actually been born in different regiments of the army, their fathers having also been soldiers.[1] The number had risen to forty by May 1752.[2] This small number is not surprising, since even Protestant Irish were permitted to be recruited only in time of emergency or under special regulation. Among the War Office out-letters to Ireland in the Public Record Office are two orders from the lord-lieutenant in 1745 and 1747 permitting Protestant Irishmen to be recruited in the provinces of Ulster, but only under extreme caution, since it was expressly stated that recruits must " take and subscribe the Oaths and Declarations appointed by Law ".[3]

Even under the recruiting exigencies of the Seven Years' War which saw the greatest army of the century in being, the wild expansion of 1793-4 not excepted, Government was chary of recruiting the Catholic Irish who were, oddly enough, permitted to be recruited into the marines. Marines, " as they take of all Religions ", remarked Edward Windus, the experienced lieutenant-colonel of the 93rd Regiment, had the easiest recruiting problems.[4] Recruiting was much more difficult for line regiments. Government was extremely particular about Irish recruits where they had to be accepted, although the new Irish regiments must have been full of them, there being no fewer than 411 of them in the 93rd in June 1761.[5]

Two officers of the 93rd incurred their lieutenant-colonel's grave displeasure when they recruited men who were known to be Roman Catholics. Writing to Bagshawe the latter observed that they had " Acted in Open Opposition to the First & most Material Article of your Recruiting Instructions, by enlisting Papists, knowing them (I may say), to be such . . .". He continued :

> This is so flagrant a piece of Disobedience in the Above named Officers, & so contrary to the Ld. Lts. Intentions, as well as Lord Rothes's & yours, That I

[1] 2/4/148. [2] 2/4/141. [3] P.R.O., W.O. 8/3/98 and 113.
[4] 2/1/51. [5] 2/1/228.

have not Only rejected them, but have sent them with the Corporal (who conducted them here) to you, that you may learn from them (as I did) all the particulars, & to take what Notice you think proper of the behaviour of the two Officers.[1]

The incident must have reached the ears of the lord-lieutenant, for a few weeks later his secretary wrote to enquire whether the " reported Papists " were still with the regiment.[2]

From these instances it seems that there were no known Catholics and few Protestant Irish in the army in the war of 1739-48 and no known Catholics in the army, save in the marines, in the Seven Years' War, Government's regulations being so definite in this matter and so strongly enforced.

There are altogether some 200 letters from the different agents who served the colonels of the 39th Regiment between 1745 and 1759, the year in which Bagshawe left the regiment after seventeen years' service in it in war and peace, for ten of which he had been its lieutenant-colonel. There are also a few letters from the agent who served his 93rd Regiment in Ireland, but these are surprisingly few in number, amounting to no more than a dozen.

The agents in question were Captain Thomas Levett, English agent to the 39th 1745-8, Captain Theophilus Desbrisay, a Huguenot officer who was Irish agent 1748-52, Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Ladeveze, Irish agent 1752-4, when the regiment went to India, and John Calcraft. The latter, perhaps the most famous of all eighteenth-century army agents, took over direction of the regiment's affairs whilst it was in India and paid for from the English establishment, but on its return to Ireland in 1758 Captain Desbrisay looked after it once again, since Ladeveze had died in the interval of Indian service. Captain William Montgomery was the agent of the 93rd.

With the exception of Calcraft all the agents who handled the regimental administration were retired military officers. This is hardly surprising. The occupation, though arduous, was congenial to military men, and the intricacies of the task, which involved a thorough knowledge of military administration and routine procedure, were the better performed by men who knew the sort of people with whom they had to deal. An agency was

[1] 2/1/46. Lord Rothes was commander-in-chief in Ireland. [2] 2 1 66.

established and extended as much by personal contacts and a shrewd application of personal favours as by the prompt and efficient despatch of business. These agents were no parade ground soldiers, or men who had been soldiers only for a day. Their rank had been earned by service and was not a meaningless embellishment. Levett and Ladeveze were veterans of Marlborough's campaigns in the Low Countries. The former had retired from the Horse Grenadier Guards in 1729 after twenty-five years service, and Ladaveze had been lieutenant-colonel of the 19th Regiment 1741-4, when he retired after thirty-seven years in the army. Desbrisay and Montgomery were men of a similar stamp, thoroughly conversant with the *minutiae* of the military profession by reason of their own experience.

The regimental agent had been, in origin, the colonel's clerk for managing the affairs of his regiment, and in the early days of the standing army the agents had been selected from among the private men of the regiment. By the beginning of George the First's reign the agent had become a man of considerable importance, whose rank in society was little inferior to that of his clients.[1] Although the number of agents in business in 1714 was still large, it did not equal the number of regiments in the army, since several of them had the affairs of a group of regiments in their hands. This accretion of agencies was a process which gathered momentum as the century advanced, and the number of agents in business steadily decreased, despite the growing size of the army. A score of them looked after the affairs of the 150 regiments of the Seven Years' War. The greatest of these was John Calcraft whose office in Channel Row, Westminster, transacted the business of some sixty regiments. He had built up this great agency partly by his friendship with Henry Fox, the secretary at war, who put him in the way of many favours, partly by his engaging and friendly, if calculating, personality which made him many friends among rising military officers, and partly by buying up other agencies when he could. When

[1] The fact that retired or half-pay military officers set up agencies helped to raise the social standing of the agent. Richard Worthington had been a lieutenant of the 16th Regiment and had served with it at Blenheim and elsewhere before he became Lord Irwin's agent.

Captain Levett had to retire from business on account of age and chronic ill-health Calcraft bought his agency. Levett's chief clerk, David Roberts, who was one of Samuel Bagshawe's friends and correspondents, then became head of one of the divisions of the office in Channel Row.[1]

An agent was empowered to act on behalf of his colonel on all matters concerning the regiment by the formal grant of a letter of attorney. An agent sometimes paid money for the exercise of the agency. Sometimes he gave security for his handling of the regiment's affairs, but this depended upon the caution of the colonel immediately concerned. Agents failed, on occasion, and when they did the colonel bore the consequences, unless he had obtained security sufficient to cover the loss. A letter from Lord John Murray relating to this question of security is preserved among the Bagshawe muniments. It was written in 1768 to James Grant, a late captain in the 47th Regiment and town-major of Limerick, who was soliciting Lord John for the agency of his regiment, the 42nd, and it details Murray's demands.[2]

Very often a colonel had little to say in the choice of his agent. When, in 1757-8, it seemed that Bagshawe might be given a regiment, Calcraft and Leonard Morse, a war office clerk who was Bagshawe's friend and frequent correspondent, asked him to bear them in mind for the agency. To Morse he wrote saying that he would like to see the agency in his hands, but, he observed, " I need not acquaint you how Seldom the Colonels have the power to name their Agents ".[3] This he explains in a letter to Calcraft :

With Respect to the Request you make for the Agency. Your Merit, Capacity & Connection would make it an honour to me to have such a person to manage the Affairs of the Reg[t] : but I need not mention to you that these Apointments [*sic*] are now reduced to Method & indeed it is very far from being unreasonable if

[1] 2/2/420 and 448.

[2] 5 1/415 (undated, but can be placed in 1768, the year in which James Grant left the 47th Regiment on Murray's instructions). Grant was to have the agency on the same terms as the late agent. " If agreeable to you [I] shall now appoint you Agent, on the same terms he had it, only that you advance me four hundred pounds, for which I shall pay you interest but that the principal be continued in my possession as a deposit for Security, during your being Agent for it, unless I shall chuse to repay it." In 1760 the secretary at war had commanded colonels to take security from their agent, if they had not already done so. [3] 2/2/425.

when a person by the Credit of his Patron & Friend obtains Promotion to accept a person whom his Friends should recommend. The D[uke]: of D[evonshire]: is my Patron, Sir Robt Wilmot has long been a disinterested Friend. It will be my desire when I obtain a Reg[t] that the Agent may be agreeable to them. . . . If you will please to be of the Pains to see Sir Rob[t] Wilmot & prevail with him to mention it to the D: of D: His Grace's and Sir Robert's Aprobation [*sic*] will absolutely determine mine.[1]

In short, the patronage by which so many officers gained their promotion limited the colonel's freedom of choice. When Bagshawe gained colonel's rank by raising his own regiment he was, of course, able to appoint his agent in accordance with his own wishes.

The multifarious duties which fell to a regimental agent are illustrated by the letters included in this collection. They may be considered under two headings, administrative and financial. He arranged all the transactions relating to the regiment's clothing : [2] the contracts with the different tradesmen, clothiers, tailors, shoe-makers, hatmakers, the supervision of the packers who sent off the clothing to the regiment, and the payment of insurance to cover its loss on the journey.[3] He applied to the Board of Ordnance, on the colonel's order, for extra arms and for powder and ammunition, and he sent in the appropriate returns to the secretary at war's office. In fact, he performed a thousand and one tasks relating to the comfort and efficiency of the regiment, all of which required an expert knowledge of military requirements and routine procedure. The financial side of his business was assuredly his biggest headache. On the one hand he had to deal with regimental officers whose book-keeping varied considerably, being commensurate with their ability and industry, and on the other with Government departments who disliked inexact accounting and used it as an excuse to withhold payments already considerably in arrears yet urgently needed to maintain

[1] 2/2/448. Sir Robert Wilmot was Secretary to the various lords-lieutenant of Ireland from 1736 to 1772.

[2] Regiments of foot were clothed annually, horse and dragoons every two years and the household troops every third year.

[3] This could be quite high. Clothing sent to North America to the 44th Regiment in 1755 cost its colonel £101 (Carr Ellison MSS., A 20, letter of 20 April 1758). See Forbes, op. cit. vol. i, for a detailed account of the clothing of the army.

the regiment and its personnel. The agent's financial business consisted of the dual process of obtaining money and keeping track of its expenditure. He secured a lump sum from the Treasury and disembursed it, at need, to the company commanders for their men. To assist him a regimental paymaster, who was simply a regimental officer who was given the post in addition to his other duties, kept the individual company accounts which had to square annually with the accounts kept by the agent. The latter issued monthly abstracts from his accounts to each of the company commanders, to enable them to see the state of their company finances and help him to prevent the usual muddle from getting completely out of hand. He handled the different regimental funds and disembursed and supervised the recruiting fund which came partly from levy money issued by Government and partly from the regimental funds. He arranged credit for the officers to cash their private and public bills wherever they went, and looked after all their financial affairs which, as may well be imagined, were sometimes desperately involved. He handled their pay, part of which, the subsistence, was always paid up to date and sometimes in advance, although the greater part of it was always in arrears.

It is obvious that with regiments dispersed in detachments or overseas, with communications as faulty and uncertain as they were, much difficulty would be encountered by the agents in the performance of their duties. However, even more formidable difficulties were imposed by the system on which the army was organized. A regiment could not remain on the books of one agent even though its colonel desired it. The difficulty arose from there being two military establishments, the English and the Irish, each with their own set of agents whose accounts were not transferable. If a regiment went to Ireland it had to have an Irish agent, and if it were ordered back to England its accounts had to be handled by an English one. Ironically enough, these cross-postings were most frequent in war-time when agents already had quite enough business on their minds. On each change of establishment the old agent had to settle accounts with the new. This was frequently a lengthy business. It took the Irish and English agents of the 39th Regiment nearly

three years to settle the regiment's accounts for its short period on the English establishment 1743-8;[1] and when Colonel Ladeveze took over the agency from Captain Desbrisay in 1752 thirteen months elapsed before their accounts were closed.[2]

The chief losers in the first matter were the agent, Captain Levett, and poor Bagshawe who had been regimental paymaster for much of the regiment's time in England. It was accepted by the Irish authorities that arrears due to the regiments that had come back from England after the peace, of which the 39th was one, should be paid only after the accounts had been cleared. This was easier said than done. Many of the officers involved in the accounts had left the regiment, some having died, others being on half-pay and some had gone to other regiments. The crux of the matter lay in the losses and deficiencies that had occurred since the regiment went to England in 1743. Bagshawe blamed " the such irregular service " on which the regiment had been engaged for his inability to keep proper accounts.[3] The regiment had been in the north, it had been on the expedition to the French coast in 1746, it had been guarding prisoners of war in the west-country, and, worst of all, it had been employed in small and large detachments on board the fleet for several years. This last service had played the biggest part in bedevilling the accounts : desertion, with its attendant loss of uniform, accoutrements and arms, had been high, because the sea-service was most unpopular ; extraordinary expenses for sea-clothes and other ship-board necessities had been unavoidable ; and the general difficulties and uncertainties attendant upon sea-service, together with the sketchiness of communications, had done the rest. It says much for Bagshawe that he did not attempt to evade his responsibility, unfair though much of it was. He saw to it that nobody in the regiment, particularly officers' widows, should be losers except himself. His relations with Levett, the agent, during this trying time were uniformly good. The two were good friends who respected each other's integrity, and their friendship could withstand the onset of difficulties. Ultimately, in April 1751, a warrant for clearing the 39th from the English establishment was sent to Ireland, after three years' wrangling on the

[1] 2/2/393. [2] 2/2/302. [3] 2/2/386.

subject. Bagshawe and Levett were, as the latter styled it, " great sufferers by the issue ".[1]

A similar predicament, on a grander scale, occurred after the 39th returned from India in 1758 and again went on the Irish establishment. Major Francis Forde had gone out with the regiment as its paymaster, but, apparently, he had sent home no accounts whatever which delayed Calcraft, the agent, in settling the regiment's affairs and securing more money for its use, and he made matters worse by electing to stay in India in the military service of the East India Company.[2] " It is impossible to express the Confusion that the Accounts of the Regt are in, Majr. Forde has sent no manner of Accounts, and Mr. Calcraft says he has drawn for more money than he should, in short we must take the last Gentleman's word for everything ", wrote Major David Hepburne in December 1758. He went on to describe the recruiting situation to Bagshawe. " Nor does it appear as yet, that we have the smalest [*sic*] Certain Fund to begin the recruiting on. I fear greatly, my dear Col, that you will have your Share of plague with regard to our Regtll affairs. . . ."[3] In his next he continues, " I know not where to find one peny [*sic*] to set them agoing. There is certainly no fund on this side [of] the water and unless Mr. Calcraft gives the officers Credit either on Capt. Desbrisay or at their Stations all our labour is in vain."[4]

[1] 2/2/393. See Levett's letters for the details, especially 2/2 371-393. Eighteenth-century soldiers had a dread of the sea-service, due in part to long confinement on board and in part to the privations and shortages they undoubtedly endured. Ensign John Nugent of the 39th reported to Bagshawe in 1747 that everything was on board the allotted ship " except two or three [men] who kept out of the way till we are redy to sail for fear of being confined on bord ", but, he assured the latter, " I have people looking for them and as soon as they are found will take cear of them " (2/2/473). The same trouble was repeated in India when detachments of the 39th served on board Admiral Watson's fleet. Major Lovett reported that the grenadiers were showing " a great Desire of being very troublesome & Mutinous, & yt is much easier Corrected on Shoar than on Board " he opined (2/6/64). For an amusing description of the life of an officer of marines at sea, see *Whitefoord Papers*, p. 29. Prize money was the only consolation of sea-soldiers.

[2] Francis Forde (1721-69) made himself a great reputation in India, where he was Robert Clive's right hand man. He displayed military genius of a high order. See the account in the *D.N.B.* and the memoir by Lionel Forde (1910).

[3] 2/2/267.

[4] 2/2/268.

Forde's negligence delayed Calcraft's settlement of accounts with the Irish agent, and this made the Irish treasury loath to issue money for recruiting. They gave £1,500 for the purpose, but refused Colonel Adlercron's request for more, whereupon recruiting came to a halt for want of money.[1] The officers themselves were hard hit by the general confusion. In 1757 Bagshawe stated that three years' arrears were due to him, and the other officers were in a like condition, but two years later there was still no likelihood of their being paid.[2]

Practical difficulties of a similar nature faced every agent. These instances of financial confusion indicate that the system of military organization and administration was ill-adapted to circumvent difficulties caused by extra-ordinary service, although they were defeating the ends that system was intended to serve. On the other hand, Bagshawe's arrears show that the officers too had their share of the general woe. They were continually bowed down by the weight of their financial responsibilities. Company commanders were the worst hit. Everywhere they turned they had to deal with financial accounts that were part public, part private, or, they might be termed, public accounts with acute personal concern, since they were the losers should there be any deficiencies of men or material. There were company accounts for pay, clothing, recruiting and the repair of arms and accoutrements to be seen to, as well as the usual administrative returns and routine duties. The letters of regimental officers are often full of financial preoccupations of this dual nature.[3] David Hepburne said he was " wearied out of his life " by Captain Desbrisay over accounts,[4] and he must have been echoing a general cry. Officers, particularly junior ones with little besides their pay, lived on a razor's edge. Lieutenant Robert Lindsay was arrested and cast into the Fleet prison for debt, although it should be said that he was reputed to be a bad-hat whose departure would be no loss to the regiment.[5] But others

[1] 2/2/40 and 42. [2] 2/2/427 and 471.

[3] Major Sewell's in particular. A great part of the subject matter of all the correspondence from regimental officers in 2/2 is concerned with financial matters, whose burden is evident from these letters. [4] 2/2/272.

[5] 2/2/339-342 ; but he was due three years' arrears of pay (2/2/410).

were as much victims of circumstance as criminals by intent. Lieutenants James Mountford and John Lyons had got into trouble over debt and were to be arrested on their return from a duty cruise with the fleet. The former arrived back first, whereupon a brother subaltern wrote, " Mountford is at last arriv'd and great consultations there are how to demolish him if the money be not soon paid." [1] Most of the junior officers were in and out of debt at one time or another, an unpleasant situation not relieved by pay being so much in arrears. Mountford, by drawing more money than he should, was tried for a breach of his recruiting instructions and was " in a good deal of tribulation ".[2] He wrote a pathetic letter to Bagshawe detailing the unjust and severe treatment he had received from Major Sewell, then commanding at regimental headquarters.[3] However guilty these young officers were, their difficult financial circumstances are a partial extenuation of their conduct.

The army of the early Hanoverians was officered in large measure by the upper classes, that is, by the aristocracy and the country gentry, English, Scottish, Welsh and Anglo-Irish, and their sons ; but there was also a great number of officers of more obscure origin. The Bagshawe military papers shed light upon the background of this humbler group whose names will not be found in *Burke* or *Debrett*. It was from this group, however, that the majority of officers in the marching regiments of foot were recruited. The 39th Regiment was no exception to the general rule.[4] A hint of the connections and origins of Bagshawe's brother officers is to be found here and there among the correspondence. When Captain Rowland Lewis died in India in 1754 at the age of forty-one after twenty-three years service in the regiment, Bagshawe wrote a letter of condolence to his brother who was an apothecary on Tower Hill.[5] Charles Duclousy, an ensign of 1751, was the son of Martin Duclousy, a

[1] 2/2/147. [2] 2/2/231. [3] 2/2/472.

[4] The Invalid regiments seem to have been officered by a very mixed bag. Lieutenant Robert Supple went to the 41st Invalids from the 39th and has this to say of his companions. " Such a core of officers as wee got in this Regiment I bilieve the world can't show for Brutishness and ill temper. I should be very glad to be out of it " (2/1/153). However, he served with them until his death in 1774.

[5] 2/5/145.

Huguenot refugee who was chief clerk to his fellow exile Captain Desbrisay, the army agent,[1] and Edward Forde who went out with the 39th to India as a volunteer, and then paid £200 for the post of quartermaster when that officer died, was the nephew of Major Francis Forde, himself one of the younger sons of the numerous family of an Anglo-Irish country gentleman. The latter gave Bagshawe some account of his nephew's history :

> My nephew who is here with me understands Merchants Acc^ts^ in all branches, he Serv'd five years in a Compting house at Liverpool, to a merchant of Great business, but unfortunately married before he was out of his time, for which his Father has banished him to this Country.[2]

The tradition of military service was strong in some lesser families. An appreciably large number of officers were the sons of regimental officers whose social insignificance and lack of influential friends, unrelieved by genius on their own part, had condemned them to remain in the junior ranks throughout their military career. Ensign John Chilcott, " a very genteel young Man ", gazetted to the 39th in 1758, who had the misfortune to be thrown from his horse and killed barely a year later, was " son to Captain Chilcot, a very worthy person sometime ago belonging to the English Fuzeliers ".[3] He was so described by John Adlercron, the 39th's colonel, who had served alongside his father in the " English Fuzeliers ", that is, the 7th Regiment. The father had been promoted to a commission from quartermaster of the 7th in 1727. Another officer with the same background was William Kellett, surgeon of the 39th Regiment 1752-63, who gained an ensigncy in 1757 and retired thirty years later, after commanding the regiment in its next warlike employment, during the great siege of Gibraltar 1778-83. In 1753 he had made an unsuccessful attempt to secure an ensign's commission. Major Sewell gave Bagshawe something of his history at that time :

> Mr. Kellett desires his best Respects, he is willing to pay such Price for the Colours to Lt. Jas Donnellan, as Col^l^ Bagshaw shall be pleased to Direct, as he has given a great price for the Surgency, & served as Ensign in Flanders & during the Rebellion in Scotland, his Father a very old Captain and killed at Falkirk : beg you Would be so good to recommend him to Col^l^ Adlercron, as soon as you conveniently can.[4]

[1] 2/2/300. [2] 2/5/129. [3] 2/6/161 and 2/2/169.
[4] 2/2/705. " Old " in eighteenth-century military language meant senior.

His father was Captain Richard Kellett of the 27th Regiment, an ensign of 1710, who was killed in action against the Scots at Falkirk after thirty-six years service. The family tradition of military service was carried on by the younger Kellett's son, another William, in his turn. On the other hand, some of Bagshawe's brother officers were of an equal or a higher social standing then himself. Among them was Verney Lovett, major of the 39th during the first part of its Indian tour, who was a nephew of Lord Verney and son of Colonel John Lovett, the builder of the early Eddystone lighthouse, and another was James Cotes, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment 1745-9, who was a nephew of Lord Digby and the elder son of a family which had held Woodcote in Shropshire since the Norman Conquest. Lord Sempill, a Scottish nobleman, served in the regiment for some time. But generally speaking, the officers of the 39th were not distinguished for their connections with society. Their social standing is exemplified by the consternation caused among Lord Molesworth's family when their niece, a Miss Bolton of Brazee near Dublin, ran away with Lieutenant Archibald Grant of the regiment.[1]

The size of the Bagshawe collection enables an intimate impression to be gained of some of the officers of Samuel Bagshawe's acquaintance. The 39th contained some colourful characters. Regimental "bad-hats" are always interesting in retrospect. The 39th Regiment could lay claim to a real scoundrel, Henry Keene by name, and since it could not get rid of him, its colonel determined that he should never be promoted beyond his rank of captain. When in 1747 Bagshawe catalogued his villainies at the request of Brigadier Richbell, the 39th's colonel, Keene had been a captain for sixteen years and had served altogether thirty-one years in the regiment. Bagshawe did his task well and seemed glad to do it:

> That all who know him believe him to be as bad a Man as ever carried a Commission would be easily proved, but it may be difficult to prove the Detail of his Pranks, the Witnesses so many of them are one way or another out of the Regim[t]; however there is nobody that is acquainted with him that doubts he robbed the Dying Officers in Jamaica,[2] beside a Variety of other Rogueries in y[t]

[1] 2/2/231.

[2] The 39th served in Jamaica in 1731-2.

place, not to mention his giving Sir John Cope [1] a bill of two hundred pounds to forward his getting his Comp^{y}: on a person in Ireland when there was no such person in being. The 4 Days Act in favour of persons hastily enlisting is supposed to owe its Birth to him from his torturing of Men to make them 'list, and afterwards he tried to rob them, this last and Selling them pewter Buckles for silver were the means of bringing him to a Court Martial in Ireland from which, I believe, you know how he escaped. He lyes under a strong belief of hiding himself in France in the first Engagement [2] and I believe it would be proved, he also brought liquers etc to his C^{y} on board. His behaviour at Arklow both to his Comp^{y} & [a] particular person in y^{e} Country is not unknown to you as also other tho' not all his Misbehaviour since you got the Reg^{t}: beside he is not at all qualified in point of Discipline for the Employment, and you know at Sir Philip Honeywood's Review he refused to exercise the Reg^{t} and said he was unfit for it on acc^{t}: y^{t} he had been run through the Body.[3]

In his private affairs Keene was equally unscrupulous and just as inept. In 1748 he was paying court to a wealthy lady. Wrote a brother officer :

She has a good deal of Money & had he conducted his Aff^{r} well, might undoubtedly have Succeeded, but in this as in all his other aff^{rs} he was a me're marplott, by acting contrary to her directions he discovered the whole aff^{r} & she now won't see him, & he has quarrelled with all the confidents amongst whom was a Lawyer to whom he was to give a £1000 too [*sic*] in case it was attended wth success, & now he threatens to Sue her for a breach of contract, so much for that.[4]

Fortunately there does not appear to have been many of this calibre in the 39th Regiment, although Bagshawe's 93rd had its share of difficult officers.[5] The majority were hard-working, reasonably conscientious men, whose number was enlivened by the presence of some high spirits among the younger of them. Captain David Hepburne, a Scot whom everyone knew as "Davy", was described by Lieutenant Grant at Portsmouth in 1747 as " by much the greatest beau in this garrison ",[6] whilst the latter,

[1] Colonel of the 39th Regiment 1730-32, and the " Johnnie" Cope of the song, who was defeated by the Highlanders at Prestonpans in 1745.

[2] The L'Orient expedition of 1746.

[3] 2/2/502. This last was quite untrue.

[4] 2/2/146.

[5] Lieutenant John Meredyth was an outstanding case. See in particular 2/1/248 and 252. The commanding officer had his usual troubles, which were not lightened by some officers. Robert Preston wrote in his forthright way on one occasion, " And to add to the rest of my Distresses Schuyler plagues me night and Day to go to Bab: Gray and Davis to go [to] Miss Dickson, I wish the Devill had them altogether, I cannot find out what Connection the Service and Mistresses have together." (2/1/307).

[6] 2/2/190.

another Scot, was described by an earnest superior as " a very giddy young man ".[1] This was a reputation justly earned, since he was the officer previously mentioned who ran off with Lord Molesworth's niece and incurred the family's grave displeasure in so doing. He was then a penniless subaltern of modest origins, but his Indian service converted him into a nabob. He returned home " a fifteen thousand pounder ", as Captain Walsh described him, rather enviously, in a letter to Bagshawe.[2] An Indian prince who had been assisted by Grant's detachment had contributed eleven thousand pounds to his fortune.[3]

Major Sewell's name has been mentioned on several occasions. He presents an interesting example of the humourless officer. Major of the 39th Regiment 1747-54, he was a man whose undoubted abilities as a regimental officer were largely vitiated by the defects of his manner and character. When he joined the 39th as its major he had been thirty-eight years an officer, although his first commission seems to have been granted at the tender age of nine. His experience had been varied, since at one time or another he had served in dragoons, foot, and marines. Although not a bad man, Sewell seems to have been an incredibly petty one, and he was amazingly persistent in the pursuit of trifles. Throughout his service in the 39th he set his brother officers continually by the ears until they became thoroughly disgusted with him.

He was a great letter-writer on every conceivable excuse and his activities in this direction became a regimental joke. Archibald Grant, sometime his adjutant, has left a picture of his daily round with Sewell. To Bagshawe he wrote :

> Believe me, Dear Major, I am keep'd so constantly employ'd sometimes about business, but much oftener about nothing by our Commander that I cannot promise myself an hour in the day. Whenever he has a letter to write which you know happens pretty frequently, I must sit by till tis done, then read, give my opinion, and afterwards Copy into a great book. And I have two or three letters from him every morning, generally before nine o'clock.[4]

Sewell evidently took his duties seriously. On the subject of command and authority he was exceedingly touchy.

[1] 2/2/534. [2] 2/2/757.

[3] J. M. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England* 1760-85 (1926), p. 10.

[4] 2/2/213. Sewell substantiated his reputation very handsomely. His letters, over two hundred in number, form the largest group of individual correspondence.

On one occasion he became embroiled in a first-class row with the naval authorities over David Hepburne's service on board the fleet. " We have glorious doings here ", wrote Grant from Plymouth, " Our Commander not only works those under his Command, but the Admiralty, Admirall & Fleet, the Extent of whose Authority he will soon let them know." [1] On another, some lieutenant-colonels in an Irish garrison disputed his right to be garrison commander. The issue was referred to the commander-in-chief who decided in Sewell's favour, " immediately on which he removed from his Lodgings & went into the Barracks & Assumed the Command there, where I assure you he does COMMAND ".[2] He was described in many ways by his brother officers, none of them complimentary. Lieutenant William Dawkin, a senior subaltern whom Sewell habitually worked into a nervous fury, called him " one of the most trifling Fellows I have ever saw or ever met wth ".[3] Captain Levett, the 39th agent, styled him " your wrong-headed Major ",[4] whilst Bagshawe himself, generally a forbearing man, said ruefully, " It is a terrible thing to deal with some sort of people ".[5]

Yet Sewell, slow-witted, ponderous, contentious, and ridden with faults, was fundamentally good-natured. Moreover, he took a genuine interest in his profession and in the men he commanded. His several hundred surviving letters to Samuel Bagshawe (1748-53) demonstrate how he encouraged deserving soldiers and generally interested himself in his men's welfare. He did not advocate flogging as a punishment although he condoned its use as a deterrent, " in terrorem " as he put it.[6] It was a great pity that his inherent good qualities should have been hindered and even diverted from their proper exercise by his unfortunate temperament.

These papers help to dispel the view, long held, that eighteenth-century officers were merely amateurs who took their tasks very lightly, and whose infrequent performance of them left much to be desired. The majority of the officers whose correspondence is preserved among the Bagshawe muniments seem to have performed their duties honestly, fairly conscientiously and to the

[1] 2/2/245. [2] 2/2/211. [3] 2/2/145.
[4] 2/2/363. [5] 2/2/396. [6] 2/2/549.

best of their ability. Perhaps the fact that at this period it was still possible for an officer to live on his pay, and that a large number proceeded to do so, helped the association of rank and privilege with duty and responsibility, a unity which fell away in the latter part of the century. A heartening picture of military life in the middle of the century is provided by the trio of field officers at the head of Bagshawe's 93rd Regiment: Bagshawe himself, his lieutenant-colonel Edward Windus, and the major, Robert Preston. The latter were not men of Bagshawe's choice, for he had no say in their appointment, and their merit is correspondingly the more reassuring. The three were officers with whom fate, in the guise of orders from government, was to deal hardly. With great spirit they raised and disciplined their regiment in the short space of six months and then awaited a summons to the field, either to Germany or on an expedition, but such was not their fortune. The regiment remained in Ireland throughout its brief existence and was obliged, time after time, to produce large drafts of men for the regiments on foreign service. On several occasions the fruits of months of hard work were snatched away in the course of an afternoon by the inspecting officer. Windus, describing one such visitation to his colonel, subscribed himself, "Your Affectionate Bro^r^ in Affliction".[1]

Bagshawe was a good officer and a zealous one. As he said, his inclination went with his profession,[2] even to the extent of raising a regiment at his own expense. In 1757 he was forced to return from India because he had lost the sight of one eye through disease and was in grave danger of losing the other. Content at first to recuperate at Ford Hall, to which he had succeeded while abroad, it was not long before he, a lieutenant-colonel of forty-four, maimed and half-blind, and his own regiment overseas, began to plague the authorities for employment. By the end of a year his eloquence was the result of steady practice. To Lord Barrington, the secretary at war, he wrote:

It will befal me as to a Boy kept from School by the Poverty of his Parents, when he returns he sees the Lower Classes in the Higher Forms and has the further Mortification to find that they are really better Schollars. I am making a great

[1] 2/1/320. It should be remarked that Preston had no part in the raising of the 93rd.

[2] 2/3/548.

Progress in Ignorance : there are many Officers abroad who have learned something from me who now may, or very soon will be able to instruct me. I Lament more the Loss of Knowledge than the Loss of Preferment. In a little time I shall be ashamed to serve.[1]

Windus was an older officer than Bagshawe. He had been in the army since 1729, and had spent his life in the 2nd Queens, whose major he had been when he left to join the 93rd. His enthusiasm for the service is evident in the many long, detailed letters which he sent to Bagshawe.[2] They give an exhaustive account of the condition of the 93rd for the greater part of its brief existence and seem to indicate a man who was loyal, painstaking and thorough, who, despite repeated set-backs, managed to retain his enthusiasm and his sense of humour at a time when both were badly needed.

Robert Preston, the major, wrote to Bagshawe when Windus was absent, and his letters supplement the latter's as a detailed record of the regiment.[3] His letters give a better insight into his nature than do those of Colonel Windus, who seems to have been more cautious and reserved than his Scottish subordinate, at any rate on paper. He was not the original major. He had come " with Reluctancy " into the 93rd in September 1760, for he had spent twenty-four years in the 26th Regiment and had been confident that he would have someday been its major, whereas the 93rd, being a new regiment, was certain to be disbanded at the peace, an event he greatly feared, for as he said, " I should neither like half pay nor being out of the Army in which I have spent all my life ". He regarded the 26th as " a Regiment that I may say without any great Vanity I have had a Considerable hand in the Breeding up ", and when he came to Bagshawe's and worked hard in it, only to see it " turned out into the Barrack Yard, and all the Best men picked out of it, I many times Wished to God that I had never seen nor heard of it ".[4] After one of these periodic draftings he wrote to Bagshawe :

All my Schemes and all my Pains about your Regiment is gone to the Devill. But God be Thanked I can begin again, after a few oaths that I gave last night I find myself quite easy. When I was an Adjutant I had twice the Modling of the 26th Reg[tt], and why not now as Major have twice the Moddling [*sic*] of the 93rd.

[1] 2/2/52.
[2] In 2/1.
[3] In 2/1.
[4] 2/1/268.

I am both Ready and Willing. It is my superiors Business to Command. It is mine to Obey. Windus comes now in for his Share of the Trouble. He went Great game with me upon his arrival telling me that like an Old Soldier he came in when all the Trouble was over, I am sorry that now he has the Joke against him.[1]

Perhaps the finest tribute to the field officers of the 93rd was an indirect one made by Major Preston at the end of the letter quoted above, in which he had reviewed his bitter feelings on being posted to the regiment and his initial unhappy experiences in it. Robert Preston was not much good at hiding his feelings either in speech or in writing and this estimate of his brother officers was an honest one. It says much for the satisfactory condition of the 93rd.

But now Sir, those Impressions are Wore off. And as I have the Good will and Friendship of you and Collonel Windus I think myself very happy. Much more so than going into a Regiment where it may happen at least for Sometime that I should have the Illwill and Dislike of my Collonel, Lieu[tt] Collonel and all the Officers.[2]

In short, he balanced his present satisfaction against his precarious prospects, which was praise indeed, and is a fitting end to this short account of their association.

The outstanding merit of this collection is its capacity to convey the feel of soldiering in this period and to show what a military life, with its difficulties, trials and disappointments, entailed for all concerned. Largely because of its size, it provides a great deal of information on a wide range of subjects which is not, at present, available elsewhere on anything approaching the same scale, although it is possible that similar collections do exist, unknown, in private hands. This article has attempted to outline the scope and to give an impression of the detail of the correspondence of these eighteenth century officers who were the friends and companions of Samuel Bagshawe.

[1] 2/1/319.

[2] 2/1/268. He was referring to a possible transfer to a regiment that would not be disbanded at the peace.

THE LITIGATION OF AN EXEMPT HOUSE, ST. AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY, 1182-1237[1]

By ERIC JOHN, M.A.
LECTURER IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

DR. KNOWLES has described the history of papal exemption of English Benedictine monasteries from episcopal control as: " . . . the gradual substitution of the canonical conception of reserved jurisdiction for the feudal one of papal *Eigenkirchen*." [2] This, he has shown, was substantially achieved during the pontificate of Alexander III, when that great canonist laid down criteria for distinguishing the privileges which established some degree of immunity *ab episcoporum subjectione* and summed up the position of a house enjoying such privileges in a standard phrase: " qui, nullo mediante, ad jurisdictionem beati Petri . . . pertinet." [3] These privileges were partly ceremonial, and the most important of them concerned the right of an abbot of an exempt house to blessing in his own church without the usual canonical oath of obedience to the diocesan. This right was accepted with the greatest reluctance by the bishops and for more than two centuries the election of an abbot was followed by a lawsuit at the Apostolic See. This was not due merely to episcopal obstinacy. As early as the pontificate of Innocent II, the abbot and monks of St. Augustine's had been advised by the pope:

> . . . si qua tibi vel fratribus tuis adversa contigerint, tuum erit ad communem omnium fidelium matrem, ecclesiam Romanam, recurrere . . . ut tam tu quam ipsi dignis apud nos consolationibus foveantur, et a suis oppressionibus releventer." [4]

[1] I have to thank Professor C. R. Cheney and Mr. E. Stone, who read this article in typescript and made a number of valuable criticisms.

[2] *Monastic Order in England* (1940), p. 584.

[3] *Downside Review*, i. (1932), 208.

[4] Elmham, *Historia monasterii s. Augustini*, Rolls Series (1858), p. 374. Many of the documents which will be cited exist in several transcripts but normally the most accessible source has been cited and the manuscript versions have been indicated only where they supply important variations.

This invitation was eagerly accepted, and it is evident that the monks hoped to use their privileged connection with the Holy See to enlarge their liberty as much as they could.

In the middle of the twelfth century, during the pontificate of archbishop Theobald, the monks wanted not only exemption from the profession of obedience but also exemption from the payment of the traditional sums, amounting to 50*s.* 7*d.*, for the holy oils on Maundy Thursday. In the course of the ensuing lawsuit, which the monks took to the pope, both parties presented their case to the papal delegates at Winchester in 1143 and the monks stated roundly that they had learnt from their papal privileges :

. . . monasterium sancti Augustini ut jus proprium sedis apostolicae munientium, nulliusque alterius ditioni subditum, abbatem et monachos praedicti loci neque subjectionem, neque consuetudinem, neque redditum aliquem seu in magno sive in minimo archiepiscopo et ecclesiae sanctae Trinitatis solvere debere.[1]

In other words, the monks wanted exemption because they wanted freedom ; in this case they wanted to loosen the close ties which connected them with Christ Church and abolish the customs paid to the archbishop which pointed to their subjection to him. This they did, at a price. The archbishop consented to surrender his right to the 50*s.* 7*d.*, since such payments smelt

[1] R. Twysden, *Hist. anglic. scriptores decem* (1652), col. 1803, and see the translation by A. H. Davis, Blackwells (1934). Dr. Davis discussed the relations between Thorn's chronicle and the earlier chronicle material on which, for the most part, Thorn is dependent until he reaches his own day. Dr. Davis's conclusions are too simple ; only an exhaustive and minute comparison between the surviving texts could establish their true relationship, but certain points seem clear. Thorn used an earlier chronicle which he attributed to Thomas Sprott (*X Scriptores*, 1758). Thorn is not clear as to just where Sprott's chronicle ended, but there is an obvious change in the character of the narrative in 1220 after the account of the successful attempt of abbot Hugh to gain blessing without any profession of obedience. There is, for example, henceforth, far less detail given of the various lawsuits in which the abbey was constantly engaged. Lambeth MS. 419 contains a chronicle very close to the early part of Thorn which concludes with the rehearsal of the letter from the abbey to Honorius III in support of their abbot-elect, Hugh. There is nothing to suggest that the manuscript is defective at this point and it seems likely that one of Thorn's sources, the most important of them for the period covered by this article, finished in 1220 ; it may or may not be the work of Sprott. Neither Lambeth MS. 419 nor Tiberius A. ix, a closely related manuscript, could possibly be Sprott's own work, since both are written in fourteenth century hands.

of simony, in return for property which brought in £4 a year.[1] But, more important, the pattern for the relations between the archbishop and the convent had been set; the monks had embarked on a policy of substituting the jurisdiction of the universal ordinary for the jurisdiction of the local ordinary. It was to the pope that the abbey went after this for permission to appropriate its churches, to assign them to the various obedientiaries—the extensive muniments of St. Augustine's contain very few episcopal charters after the time of archbishop Theobald and these are mainly confirmations of secular grants of little legal importance in themselves—but above all it was to the pope that the abbey took its litigation. Since for many purposes the abbey was still subject to the bishop's ordinary jurisdiction and the diocesan was as eager to extend his powers as the abbey was to reduce them, a great deal of the abbey's litigation involved the diocesan. The full extent of the abbey's exemption from his authority is only disclosed, indeed was only established, in the course of this litigation.

By the last quarter of the twelfth century the acute issue had become the abbey's control of its churches and the exercise of ordinary jurisdiction over its parish priests and parishioners. It is probable that Lanfranc began the process whereby more and more control over the abbey's churches was exercised by the ordinary; at any rate he forced the abbey's parish priests to attend the diocesan synod and not an exclusive, abbatial, synod.[2] But it is plain that this was only a beginning and probable that much of what was later to be claimed as normal, ordinary, jurisdiction was still left to the abbey, if it was exercised at all. In the course of the dispute over chrism money, the judges delegate gave a useful definition of the ways in which the archbishop was necessary to the abbey: " . . . in datione olei 7 crismatis, in

[1] *X Scriptores*, 1805. Canonically the archbishop had no case, but these payments were difficult to suppress. See C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester 1956), p. 153. It is interesting to find Theobald writing to the archdeacon of Chester on the same matter between 1159 and 1161 condemning certain men who have forced the local clergy to purchase " the sacred chrism of the sacrament " and remarking: " Quod quam sit sacris canonibus adversum fidelis novit ecclesia " (*Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W. J. Millor and H. E. Butler (Edinburgh, 1955), i. 170).

[2] *X Scriptores*, 1791.

dedicandis ecclesiis, in ordinibus faciendis, in justiciis[1] caeterisque negotiis prout postulatur."[2] The heads of dispute of thirty years later hardly appear, or if they do, have to be read into *in justiciis*. The absence of any reference to the archdeacon or the control of the abbey's churches, to custodies during vacancies, to other issues hotly disputed a quarter of a century later, is interesting. It looks as though that period saw considerable strides in the growth of diocesan government at Canterbury. At any rate the later period, which opens with the deposition of abbot Clarembald, whose fifteen years of office had prevented the monks from litigating with anyone except their abbot, is marked by the clash of archbishop and archdeacon on the one side against the abbey on the other over a much wider field ; it is the archdeacon who has replaced Christ Church as the monks' oponent.[3] Litigation about what was probably the archbishop's claim to institute the incumbents of the abbey's churches seems to have arisen directly out of the quarrel over chrism money. During that dispute Thorn claims that Theobald would not permit the abbey to dispose of its own churches instead intruding incumbents unwelcome to the monks.[4] This could mean that Theobald was directly encroaching on the patronage of the abbey,[5] probably in retaliation for the abbey's refusal to pay chrism money, and this is no doubt the impression the chronicler meant to convey. But it is very likely that in fact the archbishop had raised the issue of his right, as ordinary, to institute the incumbents of the abbey's churches. This is suggested by the bull of Lucius II dated 17 April 1144 which confirmed the settlement of the suit over chrism money achieved by the council of Winchester in 1143 and dealt with other issues

[1] " in justiciis " is supplied from Lambeth MS. 419, fo. 132^{v} and Tiberius A. ix, fo. 130v.

[2] *X Scriptores*, 1804.

[3] The situation at Canterbury is illuminated by Dr. Barlow's discussion of similar litigation at Durham (*Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford, 1950)). He remarks on the growth of ordinary jurisdiction at Durham, p. 146, at the end of the twelfth century and its serious consequences for " the corollaries of an archaic conception of ownership which had perdured when the churches were in ecclesiastical hands ".

[4] *X Scriptores*, 1800.

[5] A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), p. 66 takes this passage in this sense.

recently argued before the pope himself. A passage from the bull refers to what seems to have been the archbishop's successful claim to the right to institute the abbey's parish priests :

Iuxta decretum quoque predecessoris nostri bone memorie Urbani pape statuimus, ne in parochialibus ecclesiis, quas idem monachi tenent, in episcopatu Cantuariensi absque tuo vel successorum tuorum consilio prebiteros collocent, quibus, si idonei fuerint, parochie curam cum eorumdem monachorum consensu committetis, ut eiusmodi sacerdotes de plebis quidem cura vobis rationem reddant.[1]

Not surprisingly the abbey's memorials do not contain the bull of Urban II, and significantly this passage from Lucius II's bull is not included in Thorn's transcript. It appears, then, that Theobald had already claimed and been conceded the right of institution of the abbey's rectors. The monks do not seem to have surrendered to this claim without a struggle and about twelve years later Theobald complained to the pope that the monks : " . . . ecclesias in fundis eorum sitas nobis subtrahere machinantur . . ." [2] and appealed in his turn. We do not know the result of this appeal unfortunately, but a bull of Alexander III, which Thorn says was obtained " during the vacancy ", i.e. in the time of abbot Clarembald, defines the ordinary's right of institution much as it had stood in the bull of Lucius II, since it allows the monks to have the patronage of their own churches but insists that they present the incumbents to the diocesan for institution :

Quibus si ydonei fuerint, episcopus curam animarum commitat ut sibi de spiritualibus vobis de temporalibus debeant respondere.[3]

The context of the bull is unknown.

The struggle broke out in earnest in 1176 with the election of abbot Roger. The new abbot was a monk of Christ Church, and he was elected because he could bring with him, as a kind of dowry, some relics of St. Thomas.[4] In spite of his provenance he refused to make a full profession of obedience to archbishop Richard or to go to the cathedral for blessing. After two journeys to Rome, Roger was eventually blessed by the pope himself in 1179. The archbishop retaliated by impugning the authenticity

[1] Holzmann, *Papsturkunden in England* (Berlin, 1935), ii. no. 34.
[2] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, i. 20.
[3] *X Scriptores*, 1815.
[4] *X Scriptores*, 1819.

of the abbey's privileges and the matter was still *sub judice* when Alexander III died in 1181.[1] More was at issue than the profession of obedience, as the spate of bulls obtained between 1179 and 1182 shows. In sum they lay down the rough outline of the area within which the abbey was still subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the diocesan. Gervase of Canterbury is quite explicit that under abbot Roger the abbey began a campaign to overthrow the archbishop's ordinary jurisdiction so far as it could.[2] Roger was prepared to admit the archbishop's spiritual jurisdiction over the abbey's priests and clerks, which, in view of the bull of Alexander III quoted above, he could not very well have denied. But it is clear that he intended to interpret this subjection as narrowly as possible. According to Gervase he would not admit that the laymen in the abbey's parishes were subject to the ordinary, he would not allow his clerks to attend synods, nor would he heed the excommunications of either the archbishop or his officials. Thorn mentions other heads of disputes.[3] The archbishop, or rather the archdeacon on his behalf, claimed custody of the abbey's churches during vacancies and the possession of the keys of vacant churches and their revenues. It is probable that the abbey tried also to deny or evade the archdeacon's right to institute their clerks and claimed the right to depose them at will,[4] since Thorn says that they lost these rights by reason of the composition they made with archbishop Richard, which ended this first phase of the dispute in 1183.[5]

In fact, the diocesan's right of institution had already been accepted by the pope. The nearest Alexander III came to

[1] Knowles, *DR*, p. 414.

[2] Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, Rolls Series (1879), i. 302.

[3] *X Scriptores*, 1831.

[4] These claims show how extreme the abbey's demands were. The history of the right to institution in the abbey's churches has already been outlined; abbots had been prohibited from ejecting the incumbents of abbey churches "absque proprii episcopi iudicio" as early as the council of London, 1125 (*Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. J. R. H. Weaver (Oxford, 1908), p. 21).

[5] This composition and the litigation which led up to it are discussed by R. Foreville, *L'Eglise et la Royauté* (Paris, 1943), pp. 524-32. Her account of the dispute is defective and her conclusions dubious because (working in wartime France) she failed to use Thorn's narrative and the abbey's cartularies.

interfering with it was in a bull which was probably dated 16 February 1179, and was addressed to the archbishop and archdeacon of Canterbury.[1] The pope threatened them that if they did not institute suitable persons presented to them by the monks for their vacant livings, he would give St. Augustine's the right to ignore their authority. It is plain, even from this, that the ordinary's right of institution was taken for granted by the pope. Of the other heads of dispute the pope accepted the abbey's right to the keys of its vacant churches [2]—which seems to have meant in practice the right to serve them during a vacancy—and a second bull implies, not very plainly, the abbey's right to the usufruct of the vacant churches.[3] The pope strictly forbade the archbishop or his officials, even by virtue of a legatine commission, to excommunicate the abbey's clerks and men without a special mandate from the Apostolic See.[4] This, of course, must have made the exercise of the ordinary's jurisdiction in spiritual matters over the abbey's clerks difficult since he was deprived of his normal means of coercion. At no point did the pope define what his spiritual jurisdiction was. In the end the archbishop complained to the king [5] who summoned abbot Roger and "a domino papa petita et accepta permissione" [6] mediated between them and a composition was negotiated between November 1182 and 8 March 1183. The archbishop accepted such of the abbey's privileges as had papal support. He abandoned his claim to a profession of obedience, but for himself only: he promised to dedicate the abbey's churches and ordain their priests freely: the right of the archbishop or his official to institute both rectors and vicars was conceded whilst the abbey was allowed the keys of the vacant churches and their fruits: on the death of a rector or vicar, the abbot must present a new incumbent within forty days.[7] The disputed right of

[1] Elmham, p. 437. [2] Ibid. p. 440. [3] Ibid. p. 446. [4] Ibid. p. 433.
[5] Gervase, i. 302; *X Scriptores*, 1835. [6] Gervase, i. 303; *X Scriptores*, 1837.
[7] There had obviously been complaints to Rome that the abbey was unduly prolonging vacancies, see Alexander III's bull in Elmham, p. 438. Behind this dispute probably lay the archbishop's determination that the abbey churches should have regularly appointed incumbents. There is evidence that Faversham church was served, before the composition, "per capellanum commensalem" (P.R.O. *Exchequer Remembrencer, Misc. Bks.*, 27, E. 164/27, fo. 102^{v}).

excommunication was not mentioned but the archdeacon secured his procuration fees in all except the abbey's five appropriated churches : [1] all the abbey's clerks must attend synods and parishioners of the abbey's churches were subject to the archdeacon's court, although the abbot had the right to see how cases were conducted there ; he had no powers in such cases. The abbey's privileges touching matters not mentioned in the composition were to retain their full force—this presumably included the cancellation of the ordinary power of excommunication. The monks had done better than their chronicler admits; even abbot Roger seems to have thought that the monks had gone too far. Thorn says : " abbas Rogerus sancti Augustini in prosecutione causae predictae tepesceret. . . ." [2] In any case, these three years of dispute, as Dr. Knowles has pointed out, elicited " no less than 39 extant and printed papal documents ".[3] These had been supplemented by a negotiated compromise between the main contestants which had left the archdeacon with most of his rights over the abbey's churches intact.

Although it is certain that the monks were dissatisfied with the composition, it does not seem that there was any renewal of the disputed claims until after the accession of Innocent III. Most of the bulls obtained by the abbey between 1183 and 1198 are confirmations of older privileges, and there is nothing in them or the chronicles to deny that by and large the terms of the composition were observed by both sides. It is not easy to discover who first broke the uneasy peace but the weight of what evidence there is suggests it was the abbey. There seems to have been some trouble after archbishop Hubert had received his legatine commission from Celestine III, when the pope warned Hubert that he could not use his legatine authority to exact an oath of obedience from abbot Roger.[4] But of the other contested points there is no mention. The breakdown of the terms of the composition, so far as can be seen, had taken place by the middle of 1201. Some time before May 1201, probably

[1] I.e. Milton, Faversham, Chislet, Minster and Northburne.

[2] *X Scriptores*, 1834. [3] *DR*, p. 412.

[4] *X Scriptores*, 1841. Hubert probably visited the abbey as legate (*Mem. Ric.* 1 (1865), ii. 370).

in the same year, Milton church fell vacant and the monks exercised their customary rights there, apparently without any protest on behalf of the archdeacon until the whole question of the monks' right to the custody of their vacant churches had been reopened in Rome. But in May 1201 Faversham church fell vacant[1] and the archdeacon claimed custody of the church in apparent defiance of the terms of the composition of 1183. At about the same time the churches of Langdon and Stone also fell vacant and here, too, the archdeacon claimed custody. When the monks refused to permit this the archdeacon retaliated by refusing to institute their presentees and put the church of Stone under an interdict.[2] The main questions settled in the compromise of 1183 were now reopened. Now at no point in the dispute did the monks accuse the archbishop or his officials of violating the composition, which must suggest that it was they who first rejected it, and this inference is supported by a letter of Innocent III, preserved in the White Book of St. Augustine's,[3] which delegated judges to hear a plea of the abbot and monks for the quashing of what must surely have been the composition of 1183 :

Cum bone memorie R. Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in clericiis 7 ecclesiis eorumdem iurisdiccionem diceret se habere, ipsi autem illos ad se pertinere proponerent pleno iure ; abbas ipse in eius preiudicium 7 iacturam transactionem inivit, contra quam idem abbas 7 monachi restitui postulabant.

The letter is unfortunately undated and the chroniclers do not mention it. Since it seems likely that the quarrel was renewed between the vacancy at Milton and the vacancy at Faversham, i.e. by the end of May 1201 at latest, and since archbishop Hubert's stock was at its lowest in Rome at this time, it may well be that the monks took the opportunity to reduce, or reject, whatever jurisdiction the composition of 1183 had left the archbishop over their churches.[4]

[1] *X Scriptores*, 1844. [2] Ibid. 1859.

[3] E. 164/27, fo. 101^{v}. Gervase i. 303 hints at what may be this suit: " Romani etenim et argentum magis quam justitiam sitientes, seditiones inter eos et litigia commovebant." This is appended to his account of the negotiations of 1182-3.

[4] A mandate of Innocent III (E. 164/27, fo. 101^{r}) shows that monks interpreted their *plenum ius* over their churches as excluding the archbishop's right of institution. We do not know what happened in this suit but the monks had abandoned the claim by late 1201. See E. 164/27, fo. 103^{r}.

But the course of the new litigation was interrupted by a violent dispute with the king over the patronage of Faversham church. Abbot Roger, in the interval between his election and his blessing and for a short time afterwards, found Henry II uneasy about the precise significance of the abbey's relationship to the pope. Henry's suspicions were partly allayed by a letter of Alexander III interpreting *nullo mediante* as referring to the ecclesiastical, but not the secular, personality of the abbey[1] and partly by the diversion of the abbey's patronage at his instance. A certain master Franco had already been assigned a pension of four marks by abbot Roger "ad petitionem camerarii domini papae".[2] Franco was probably a papal clerk; it is difficult to explain the papal chamberlain's interest in him otherwise and in 1179, when *pontificalia* were restored to the abbot, certain of the ceremonial garments were brought from Rome "per nuncium Franconis camerarii domini papae".[3] It seems possible (although the earlier manuscripts agree with Thorn) that something has gone wrong here and that Franco was the messenger and the pensioner. If so, then Henry had been solicited too, for the pension was increased from four to sixteen marks at the king's request. It was "assigned to him in a sure place"[4]—the church of Milton. More serious from the abbey's point of view was the presentation of a royal clerk, Osbert de Camera,[5] to Faversham. The presentation was made by the king and tolerated by the monks, who retained the traditional pension of six marks. The loss of Middleton and Faversham, two out of their five appropriated churches, was resented by the monks who thought, with reason, that they might lose their two churches permanently. They defended their threatened title with royal episcopal confirmations of the original grant.[6] From Urban III

[1] Elmham, p. 429.
[2] *X Scriptores*, 1828.
[3] Ibid. 1825.
[4] Ibid. 1829.
[5] He is presumably the important cameral official noticed by Tout, *Chapters* (1920), i. 115 and by Mr. Jolliffe, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lxviii. 342-3.
[6] The original grant is supposed to have been made by William I in 1070 and is attested by two charters (Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* (1913), nos. 35 and 39). There are two problems here; the genuineness of the grant and the authenticity of the charters. Davis thought both grant and charters were suspicious since Faversham church is listed in Domesday Book neither

they obtained a bull by which these enforced presentations could be invalidated, and they obtained another from Celestine III mentioning Milton and Faversham by name and forbidding their alienation.[1] But in spite of this impressive series of title-deeds, trouble began on the death of Osbert de Camera on 3 May 1201.[2]

On Osbert's death the archdeacon claimed custody of the church, and it is clear from the sequel that the monks appealed to the pope. But more immediately dangerous was the king's

under *Terra Regis* nor *Terra sancti Augustini*. Milton church is listed as belonging to St. Augustine's, but there is an obvious reason for its inclusion since: "xl solidi de iiii solins regis exeunt ei" *D.B.* i. fo. 2b. *Domesday Monachorum* lists churches and even villages of which Domesday Bk. makes no mention; since there is no evidence that the abbey's title to the two churches was disputed before the reign of John, it may be taken as reasonably certain that the grant was genuine and the substance of the charters is reliable. It is unlikely, however, that the two charters survive in their original form. The substance of the two charters is virtually identical, but they differ in the form of their conclusion and in their witness lists (none of the witnesses are suspicious). Davis, op. cit. p. 120 prints one of the versions from the charter roll of 20 Edward II (an earlier and better text is found *Carte Antique Rolls*, 9, mem. i, no. 8). This concludes: "Facta est hec donacio in villa que dicitur Wyndesor, anno incarnationis domini millesimo LXX. Testibus. . . ." I have seen no other genuine diploma of the Conqueror which concluded in this fashion. Indeed this conclusion looks like an unhappy compromise between the more usual type of diploma and writ ending. It resembles, however, a spurious Ramsey writ (Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (1952), p. 261), which in its Latin form concludes: "Hec carta facta fuit apud Windleshoram in iiii° die ebdomade paschalis sub testimonio Ædgithe regine, Godwini et Haroldi comitum.," thus reproducing the priority of the time and place date to the witness list found in the document under discussion. The other version of the Conqueror's diploma is found in its fullest transcription in Elmham, p. 348. It is more normal in appearance and would arouse no suspicion except for the addition to a conventional diploma-style witness-list of: "Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MLXX facta est haec donatio, in villa quae dicitur Windesore." We know too little about the drafting of diplomas at this time to be dogmatic about the form of this document but its conclusion is slightly suspicious. The abbey's cartularies reproduce either version indifferently, but Julius D x has transcripts of both and it seems probable that the abbey had two charters in its archives: this, although not fatal, is suspicious in a house of such bad repute as St. Augustine's. Possibly the original charter was lost in the fire of 1168 or possibly it was improved for enrollment on the public records. It seems, then, two adapted versions have survived of what was probably one diploma of William I, the substance of which is adequately represented by the existing texts.

[1] *Papsturkunden*, i, no. 286. [2] *X Scriptores*, 1844.

attempt to present another royal clerk, Simon, archdeacon of Wells, to Faversham. Simon was a clerk high in favour with both king and archbishop. He was a frequent datary of John's charters until his elevation to Chichester in 1204. He was a clerk of archbishop Hubert, too.[1] The monks called him *archiepiscopi vicecancellarius*[2] and the pope gave him the same style,[3] but he is never so styled in any official document either royal or archiepiscopal. The title probably reflects the way in which his position in the royal chancery (where he seems to have occupied the second place after the chancellor, archbishop Hubert) appeared to the monks; it is very improbable that it was in any way an official title. Simon's connection with the archbishop was longstanding. He had been a canon of Salisbury during Hubert's pontificate;[4] on his death he left 100 marks for a chantry in Hubert's memory. In spite of his importance and his connections, Simon was unable to obtain institution; his way was barred by the monks' appeal to Rome. The king peremptorily ordered the monks to cease hindering Simon's institution "sive ad nos pertineat donatio sive non". The monks sent an embassy to the king in France to show him their charters and to offer a large sum of money for their confirmation. John was unmoved: he refused to admit the force of their charters and he gave them a hint to forbear to appeal to the pope:

> . . . prohibemus vobis ne vos aliquatenus opponatis quo minus donatio nostra rata consistat; moleste enim feremus si quid feceritis in hac parte contra jus nostrum et libertatem, nec illud fieri sustinebimus.[5]

This letter can be dated 20 May 1201,[6] and about the same date the archbishop also wrote to the monks on behalf of Simon.

[1] "pro dilecto suo et nostro", Hubert referring to Simon, who witnessed many of his *acta*, the king and himself (E. 164/27, fo. 95r).

[2] *X Scriptores*, 1845.

[3] E. 164/27, fo. 99v.

[4] *Reg. s. Osmundi*, Rolls Series (1884), i. 247.

[5] *X Scriptores*, 1846.

[6] The text in E. 164 27, fo. 95r, is dated "apud Feritatem xx die Maii". John was certainly at La Ferté 20 May 1202, as the Patent, Liberate and Norman Rolls show. On 20 May 1201 he was in Normandy but his precise whereabouts are unknown. It is certainly a coincidence that John should have made his only known visits to La Ferté on the same day in two successive years but the coincidence is unavoidable. Although Thorn's chronology is not always reliable, it is clear that this letter belongs to the whole sequence of events running from

His letter is a masterpiece of tact. He urged the monks, *salvo jure*, to accede to the king's will and in return he promised to secure confirmation of their charters. The monks refused and the sheriff of Kent was ordered to evict the monks from Faversham.[1] The sheriff came down in person and found a small party of monks in occupation under the leadership of one Osbert. Osbert and his companions were evicted from the parsonage houses and retreated into the church, where they were besieged by the sheriff's men from 31 July to 16 August.[2] By 15 August the monks had exhausted their supplies of food and water and they sent an appeal for help to the abbey. The next day abbot Roger arrived in Faversham leading a " strong band " which put the sheriff's men to flight. The abbot, with a few companions, remained in occupation until 24 September when the sheriff returned " augmented by a mob of no small dimensions " and forcibly ejected the abbot and his party. The church was polluted with blood in the process. Abbot Roger appealed to Rome and the church was left in the possession of the rural dean.[3] The sheriff was Reginald de Cornhill who, like other members of his family, was normally on good terms with St. Augustine's.[4] Whilst abbot Roger was holding Faversham two of the abbey's proctors were trying unsuccessfully to win over archbishop Hubert. The negotiations were interrupted by the arrival of two monks with the news of the abbot's expulsion. Hubert was apparently very angry and excommunicated all who had taken part in the attack, saying that : " so horrible and so monstrous a deed has not

the death of Osbert de Camera to the resumption of the abbey's temporalities, all of which are assigned to 1201 by Thorn. Some of these events can be dated from other sources. Osbert died on Ascension Day and the letter in question was written 20 May following. Ascension Day 1202 was 23 May, so Thorn must be right in assigning Osbert's death to 1201. The papal legate John of Salerno found St. Augustine's in the king's hands ; he passed through London 30 September 1201. Unless this letter is detached from the reasonable chronological position assigned to it by Thorn, it must be dated 20 May 1201.

[1] *X Scriptores*, 1846. [2] Ibid. 1847. [3] Ibid. 1848.

[4] *Black Bk. of St. Augustine's*, ed. G. J. Turner and H. E. Salter (1924), ii. 379. At the close of John's reign, Reginald junr. was heavily fined by the king for quittance of his father's debts ; he was unable to pay, imprisoned and borrowed money from the abbey to obtain his release.

been committed in England since the slaying of St. Thomas the martyr."[1] But he neither forgave the monks for their defiance nor did he order the archdeacon to surrender custody of the church to them. Towards the end of October the archdeacon, his official and the rural dean, came down to Faversham and reconciled the church, and having done so removed the altar and forbade the monks to say mass there. The monks lodged another appeal to Rome.[2]

By this time the king had resumed the abbey's temporalities. As the legate's letter, which can be dated before 31 October 1201, mentions the resumption it seems probable that it was ordered in retaliation for the ejection of the sheriff in August.[3] The abbey remained in the king's hands until June 1203 and, although during these months there was a constant flow of papal bulls in the monks' interest, they only recovered their temporalities on payment of a substantial fine. They offered John 200 marks and a palfrey for the confirmation of their charters but he would not give them an answer until he had

[1] *X Scriptores*, 1849. Thorn claims, ibid. 1848, that Hubert was *custos Anglie* "ipso rege in partibus Normannie agente". The Witham chronicler uses a similar phrase (BULLETIN, xix. 502).

[2] The archdeacon's behaviour is described in detail in two letters of certain *burgenses* of Faversham appealing to the pope and the universal church for succour (Claudius D.x., fo. 255[r]). Local sentiment seems to have been very much on the monks' side. The archdeacon's official ordered the parishioners of Faversham to use other churches in the initial stages of the dispute (*X Scriptores*, 1847) and some of the *majores* of the parish had been excommunicated for refusing. The sheriff, on his first attempt to eject the monks, had been unable to do so because they had the support of *seculares validi*: abbot Roger must have raised his strong band locally. In the midst of their troubles the legate, John of Salerno, passed through Canterbury and wrote a letter in their support to the pope (E. 164/27, fo. 102[r]). He seems to have held some sort of local enquiry into the history of the dispute and found local testimony entirely in favour of the monks. This letter, since it mentions the assault on abbot Roger but not the monks' appeal after the removal of the altar at Faversham, must be dated between 24 September and 31 October. The altar was not restored for some years. A letter of Innocent III ordering its restoration is dated 24 November 1205, Migne (*PL*, ccxv, 734).

[3] *X Scriptores*, 1853. Thorn implies that John resumed the temporalities after papal letters excommunicating those guilty of the attack on abbot Roger had been received. But the abbey was in the king's hands when the legate passed through Canterbury, and the pope could not have replied to the monks' appeal by this date.

consulted the archbishop.[1] The archbishop sent a sharp reply to the king's request for counsel. He thought that there was no doubt about the abbey's right to the patronage of Faversham, and he thought that the estates of the abbey ought to be fully restored :

> As to whether you should receive an offering for this same restitution and money for your favour, we shall give you no advice since it seems to us that restitution ought rather to be made for nothing than for money and restoration of what was taken away done for its own sake, not for profit. You, no doubt, will do what seems good to you.[2]

The king took the money and the palfrey.[3] The monks had suffered some loss at the hands of the sheriff and his men. As Hubert put it in his letter to the king :

> We know that you will have gained little from this confiscation whilst the aforesaid monks have suffered heavy loss and perhaps some of your men made no small gain. One may say then that you 'have beaten the bushes but others have gathered the birds'.[4]

Although peace had been restored between the abbey and the king only on payment of a large fine, it would not be true to say that papal intervention had been entirely ineffective. There are two main points with which the pope dealt in his mandates, the abbey's claim to Faversham and the violence done to the monks.[5] As to the first, although various papal privileges appropriating the church to St. Augustine's and forbidding its

[1] *X Scriptores*, 1855. Thorn claims that Hubert advised John to seize the abbey's estates, but this is hard to reconcile with a passage from Hubert's reply to John which, referring to the seizure, reads : "cum nullo modo fuerit laudabilis vel laudanda."

[2] Ibid. 1856.

[3] Thorn says he took only the palfrey but the Pipe Rolls show that the whole fine was paid by annual instalments.

[4] The Sheriff and his men did not keep their pickings undisturbed as the following writ shows : "Rex vic' [Kancie salutem]. Significarunt nobis abbas et conventus sancti Augustini Cant' quod dum abbacia eorum in manu nostra fuit, plus quam cc marcas quas inde nobis soluisti, de illa recepisti. Quare mandamus tibi et firmiter precipimus quatinus de eo quod recepisti de illa abbacia dum in manu nostra fuit et nobis non reddidisti, predictis abbati et monachis respondeas." (E. 164/27, fo. 136[r]). John confirmed the abbey's charters on 15 June 1203 (*Rot. Chart.* 105b.).

[5] The caution of the pope in this matter is shown by the fact that the sheriff himself was not excommunicated (E. 164/27, fo. 98[v] and *X Scriptores*, 1847, for his part in this violence).

alienation could be cited, basically the suit concerned patronage and the king had no intention of admitting papal competence to decide it. The issues are stated most clearly in a series of letters between the pope, the king and the judges delegate, which probably belongs to early 1202. The pope had entrusted the case against the men who had assaulted the monks to Eustace of Ely, abbot Samson and the prior of Bury. John, accordingly, wrote two furious letters, one to the abbey, one to the judges]; both are dated Rouen, 30 March, almost certainly 1202.[1] John appealed to the customs of the realm—he had been advised that the patronage of Faversham belonged to him, but since this right was disputed the church should lie in the hands of the diocesan until the royal court should decide the issue. He justified the ejection of the monks on the grounds of their intrusion and violent detention ; the pope ought not to have intervened as he had since the monks' appeal was fraudulent and against the rights of his crown. The judges' reply is an interesting document. They are firm that they cannot ignore a papal command but they do not discuss the king's assertion that a disputed advowson belonged to the royal court. They objected to the king's claim that it was customary for intruders into churches to be summarily ejected by the secular arm. Such intruders might be ejected only after they had been publicly excommunicated by the local ordinary. The question of patronage was not mentioned by the judges ; indeed the pope himself, although firm on the matter of the assault, was circumspect in dealing with the matter of right. Thorn does not make it clear whether the monks ever took their claim to the patronage of Faversham to Rome *eo nomine* ; some of their privileges, those forbidding the alienation of Milton and Faversham churches, for example, were probably designed to evade the customary prohibition on taking advowson suits to the pope. The pope certainly never mandated the delegates to hear the suit over patronage, although he did instruct them to restore to the monks the possession of Faversham church ; in the larger issue he intervened mainly by writing a moderate, even pleading, letter to John begging him to restore

[1] E. 164/27, fo. 98[v] and *X. Scriptores*, 1852.

the abbey's temporalities.[1] This letter is dated 19 November 1202 and Innocent wrote a second letter to his delegates requiring them to mediate between the abbey and the king on 3 January 1203.[2] Thorn says that they did intervene and that they prepared the ground for the final settlement. Thus the important issue of right and principle was evaded. The advowson went to the monks as the pope clearly thought it should; not, however, on account of any judicial decision made in an ecclesiastical court, but after mediation at the pope's instigation. The king waived his claim on payment of a substantial fine. The judges delegate had done their duty to the pope and resisted the king where it seemed that the king's agents had gone too far. The monks had learnt that papal protection was an uncertain defence against the heavy hand of an angry king.

Even whilst the abbey was in the king's hands the monks' case against the archbishop and the archdeacon had been proceeding, although by no means as quickly as Thorn's narrative suggests. The case was mainly concerned with the custody of the abbey's vacant churches; the vexed question of the archdeacon's right to excommunicate the abbey's men and interdict the abbey's churches was a subsidiary issue. If the monks had hoped to gain what they had "lost" in 1183, they were deluded, and in fact from the beginning of their case they found themselves defending what the composition of 1183 had granted them as their right. They claimed custody of Faversham which since the ejection of the abbot had been in the archdeacon's hands,[3] and the archdeacon in turn claimed custody of Milton which had been vacant for four years and was in the abbey's hands.[4] The monks claimed not only that they had a right to the custody of all their vacant churches but also that, since in their appropriated churches they were perpetual rectors, these were never, legally speaking, vacant.[5]

[1] *X. Scriptores*, 1854. The date is supplied from E. 164/27, fo. 99v.
[2] E. 164/27, fo. 100r. [3] *X Scriptores*, 1857. [4] Ibid. 1860.
[5] Ibid. 1861. At Rome the abbey's proctor used the phrase *nullo mediante* to express the relation of an appropriated church to the abbey, thus drawing an analogy between the relation of a church to the abbey and the relation of the abbey to the pope (*PL*, ccxv. 744). During the hearing before the judges delegate, the abbey's proctor asked whether the archbishop or the archdeacon was

The archbishop's case probably began early in 1202. The pope originally entrusted the case to Eustace of Ely, abbot Samson and the prior of Bury,[1] i.e. a diocesan bishop balanced by the abbot and prior of an exempt house. Thorn says that the opening of the case was delayed because they, with Archbishop Hubert, were across the sea.[2] Diceto[3] notes that Hubert, Eustace and Samson were summoned to Normandy by the king in December 1201. Thorn says that Hubert submitted to judgement as soon as he returned[4], but it is clear that the suit was a lengthy business. Thorn's narrative is difficult here. He gives two not quite compatible versions of the course of the litigation of which the first is very condensed but essentially accurate[5]—its author knew that the case was eventually remitted to Rome and was there the subject of a judgement by Innocent III which found its way into the decretal collections ; the second is fuller, but less accurate, although its compiler knew that the suit was eventually settled out of court.[6]

The initial proceedings were probably taken up with the assault on abbot Roger, and the archdeacon's claim to the custody of Faversham church was opened by a mandate of late 1203, i.e. after the king's case had been got out of the way. This has not survived, but a second mandate, *Grave gerimus*, addressed to Eustace, Samson and the prior of Bury[7], has.

claiming the right of custody (*X Scriptores*, 1861). He was told that the archdeacon's claim was secondary and derived from the archbishop's authority ; it is obvious that this was the reply the proctor wanted since the archbishop's authority could be opposed by papal bulls on some of the points at issue. The passage implies that the proctor was doubtful how far these bulls would hold against the authority of the archdeacon and it is confirmation of Dr. Barlow's suggestion (*Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, p. 32): " it was not at this time held that freedom from episcopal burdens automatically entailed immunity from the exactions of subordinate officials". The archdeacon thus had ordinary jurisdiction in his own right and traces of it can be found as early as the time of Alexander III (*Papsturkunden*, ii. 355).

[1] This is apparent from the texts of the relevant mandates. At one point in his narrative, Thorn (*X Scriptores*, 1857) adds the bishop of London to the judges, but he has confused the judges delegated to deal with the Faversham suit with the judges delegated to hear the archdeacon's counter-claim to Milton (*PL*, ccxv. 743). [2] *X Scriptores*, 1858. [3] Rolls Series (1876), p. 173.

[4] *X Scriptores*, 1858. [5] *X Scriptores*, 1857. [6] Ibid. 1857-63.

[7] Ibid. 1858. The date is supplied from E. 164/27, fo. 116r.

This is dated 1 August 1204 and reproves the judges for allowing the monks' adversaries to waste a year in frivolous appeals.[1] The judges obeyed the mandate and they completed their hearing by 1 March 1205 ; a day was given to the litigants for them to appear before the pope to receive sentence, 8 September 1205.[2] The pope's decision was given in a bull dated 21 November 1205.[3] So far as it went it was entirely in the abbey's favour, but it did not touch the main question at issue. The issue was mainly concerned with the right to custody of Faversham church whilst appeals concerning that right were pending. The abbey was to have the custody of Faversham and the archdeacon had to resign the fruits he had already received ; the decision was " proprietatis utriuslibet salvo jure."

The suit concerning Milton church was either slower or more probably begun at a comparatively late stage in the Faversham dispute (Thorn's narrative suggests 1203) by the archdeacon or his proctor, as a counter to the claims of the monks. A papal mandate of 12 December 1205 commands the bishops of London and Ely and the abbot of St. Albans to hear testimony in this case.[4] It is clear that by this time the archdeacon's proctor had rather cleverly appealed to the pope's decision in the Faversham case as a precedent in favour of the archdeacon's right to custody of Milton, whilst his appeal was pending. The judges were delegated to consider the fundamental issues involved in these disputes, since the archdeacon claimed custody on the ground that :

[1] Eustace of Ely sent the pope a list of nineteen questions on points of canon law ; the pope replied to these December 1204 (C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, *Selected Letters of Innocent III* (1953), p. 69). One of these questions concerned frivolous appeals, especially the appeals of excommunicated clerks, another concerned " delaying exceptions " and malicious postponements.

[2] The day and month are taken from *X Scriptores*, 1862. The year is almost certainly 1205 since Innocent III's Bull of 21 November 1205 rehearses most of the text of *Grave gerimus* and gives a brief account of the history of the suit since its reception by the judges-delegate. He remarks that the abbey's proctor had to wait almost three months for the archdeacon's proctor to appear (*PL*, ccxv. 731). Since the mandate is dated late November 1205, it fits very well with the date found in Thorn as the appointed day, 8 September.

[3] Ibid. 729.

[4] *PL*, ccxv. 743.

tam de communi jure, quam de consuetudine generali Anglicanae Ecclesiae, custodia vacantium Ecclesiarum Cantuariensis dioceseos ad archdiaconum ipsum pertineat . . .[1]

Nevertheless no definitive decision was ever reached and the matter was settled by a compromise so far as Faversham and Milton churches were concerned; again "salvo jure proprietatis in omnibus in predictis ecclesiis."[2] From the compromise it would appear that the archdeacon was also claiming procuration fees from Milton, although it was an appropriated church, and that he had obtained letters from the pope committing the custody of Milton church to him. The claim was waived and the letters were handed over by the archdeacon. The compromise is not dated but it was probably negotiated some time in 1206. Thus after seven years of litigation the extent to which the abbey's churches were exempt from ordinary jurisdiction was still undefined—and the main question left unsettled.

So far as the evidence allows us to see, it was at last settled in 1237 by a compromise negotiated between St. Edmund, archdeacon Langton and abbot Robert, designed to define anew the degree of subjection of the "clerks and men of the manors and the abbatial estates to the archbishop of Canterbury, the archdeacon and their officials,"[3] as well as the extent of the ordinary's jurisdiction over the abbey's churches. The scanty evidence is enough to show that suits over these matters had been endemic since the days of the Faversham and Milton disputes. The abbey's chronicles have little to say about them although they hint at trouble over Chislet church when a clerk, presented as vicar, was instituted as rector.[4] The compromise of 1237 mentions a dispute over Chislet as amongst the occasions for the negotiations. Some of the texts of the papal mandates issued in the course of this case have survived, and although they hardly suffice to give a clear picture of the events behind the suit they show well enough the consequences of the failure of the earlier litigation to elicit any definitive decision.

[1] Loc. cit.
[2] Claudius D. x, fo. 257r.
[3] *Black Bk.* ii. 535; *X Scriptores*, 1883.
[4] *X Scriptores*, 1881.

The earliest mandate which has survived is dated 17 February 1235,[1] and the pope refers to an earlier suit over Chislet church when archbishop Richard Grant presented one of his clerks, William, to Chislet on the death of Richard the former vicar. From the pope's narrative it seems that it was not so much the encroachment on their patronage that the monks minded—it would be possible to infer from the text that the abbey had accepted William—but the admission of William, not as vicar but as rector. The particular issue was set against the whole context of the abbey's claims to freedom from ordinary subjection, and the pope says the monks

ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis peticione monstrarunt quod cum monasterium ipsum a tempore fundacionis sue sub ea constructum fuerit libertate ut videlicet Cantuariensis archiepiscopi abbatem eiusdem monasterii in nullo sibi subditum reputaret.

Thus much more than the fate of Chislet church depended on the outcome of this suit. It appears from Gregory IX's letter that in this suit, after recourse to Rome, a decision in favour of the monks had been given.[2] This mandate has not survived and its terms are not quoted by the pope, but by now William had either died or been ejected, and on the archbishop's authority another clerk, Robert of Ludlow, had been instituted as rector, and the abbey's presentee as vicar rejected. The recalcitrant monks who appear to have been in possession of Chislet church had been excommunicated by the archbishop's officials. From the pope's letter, then, it is clear that the monks were interpreting appropriation as absolute freedom; it is not surprising that the archbishop resisted and ignored the ancient status of Chislet church.

The second mandate, this time addressed to Henry III,[3] is dated 30 April 1235. The pope has heard that, as at Faversham thirty years earlier, the monks "holding" Chislet church had been ejected by main force and those of the abbey's men who helped them had been gaoled in Canterbury castle. Times had changed, England was ruled by a pious king and the province of

[1] Julius, D. ii, fo, 78r.
[2] The judges' decision is preserved in Julius D. ii, fo. 75 r.
[3] Julius, D. ii, fo. 77v.

Canterbury by one of its rare saints, but their methods of government seem to have been hardly more gentle. Two more papal mandates, one to the judges delegate and one to the archbishop and the abbot of St. Augustine's, dated 2 May 1235, and substantially repeating the contents of the letter of 30 April, complete the surviving documentation of the Chislet suit.[1] But a single document relating to the archbishop's view of what was at issue is also preserved in the abbey's muniments. A letter of William, dean of Canterbury, names a day for the abbot to appear before the papal judges to answer charges raised at Rome by the archbishop. He rehearses the papal mandate sent to the judges delegated to hear the suit, which was dated 7 March 1236.[2] According to the archbishop the abbey was attempting to treat all its churches as appropriated, proper incumbents were not being appointed and the churches were being served "per temporales et conductios presbyteros" and disposed of in all respects at the arbitrary will of the abbey. There can be little doubt that this is what the monks would have liked to do with their churches, although it is too obviously an *ex parte* statement to allow us to decide how far in fact they had been so behaving. Again the pope decided nothing definitely, and in 1237 a new composition was negotiated between the principal contending parties.

The major part of the document is taken up with the rights of the archdeacon. He retained the right to institute rectors and vicars in the abbey's churches but the requirements of the earlier composition that these be presented within forty days was dropped. This is no doubt explained by the development of the canon law on this point.[3] The archdeacon had the right to visit all the abbey's churches and to receive procuration fees from all except the five appropriated churches: the subjection of the abbey's clerks and men to the archdeacon's spiritual jurisdiction was also affirmed, with certain limitations for the abbot's *familia*: nor could the archbishop and the archdeacon suspend or interdict the appropriated churches, although their incumbents could be excommunicated—it seems that the abbey

[1] Julius D. ii, fo. 79r and fo. 80v.
[2] Ibid. fo. 79r.
[3] *Decretals*, 3.38.3 and 22 and 27.

must have conceded the ordinary right to interdict their unappropriated churches: the monks were to agree to the surrender of the annual pensions they were accustomed to draw from their churches in return for the appropriation of the church of Preston,[1] from which they could take twenty marks a year, a net loss of 2s. 6d.: finally, they were forbidden to farm any of their churches without the consent of the ordinary.[2]

So far as the evidence goes the composition was moderately successful, although some of the issues were raised again under Boniface of Savoy,[3] but the pattern had been set and the monks' attempts to loosen the subjection of their churches decisively defeated. The composition of 1237 was rather less favourable to the monks than that of 1183, which it seems probable they took the initiative in breaking. The monks had attempted to use their privileged relation to the Holy See to reduce their ordinary obedience to nothing, and this attempt had resulted in a prolonged series of expensive and inconclusive lawsuits at Rome. It is at first sight surprising how little good this expensive policy did them. The pope always, in the last and costly resort, supported the abbots' claim to exemption from the canonical profession of obedience,[4] but to very little else. The issues

[1] This was not accomplished until 1243 (*Black Bk.* ii. 539).

[2] From the context, it is plain that abbey was to be prevented from serving its churches by stipendiary priests. This practice was certainly followed in other exempt houses, see Jocelyn of Brakelonde, *Chronicle*, ed. Butler (1949), p. 63. There is thus a genuine moral and pastoral issue behind the archdeacon's claim to an effective control over the abbey's churches. The bad effect which the long-drawn out litigation may have had on the proper ordering of parish-life in the abbey's parishes is evidenced by the existence of papal privileges (e.g. Elmham, p. 440, and a bull of Celestine III of 1191, Claudius D. x, fo. 44^{r}, mistakenly ascribed by Thorn, *X Scriptores*, 1840, to 1188) empowering the abbey to deprive those incumbents of their churches who, in their turn, farmed out their benefices. Thorn, loc. cit. says that," pro dolor ", the monks had not used this privilege. It is fair to suppose that they had not done so, to avoid having recourse to the archdeacon to have the offending incumbents deprived.

[3] *X Scriptores*, 1900.

[4] Alexander III's decision exempting the abbot from the normal canonical oath was definite and intended to be binding for the future. His formal confirmation of the special privileges of the abbey shows this, since there is an unambiguous alteration in the wording of his privilege when it is compared with the last confirmation, made by Eugenius III, which makes this clear. This alteration is correctly described in *X Scriptores*, 1829 as against the editor of

raised by the abbey's persistent appeals were never settled at Rome, but the monks were left to make what terms they could with the ordinary, which, although sometimes generous enough on the immediate cause of dispute, never impaired the ordinary's basic right. It is probably unfair to judge the efficiency of the papal curia as the supreme ecclesiastical tribunal by this litigation ; the monks were perhaps the victims of a wider movement in canon-law. The papacy was eager to convert the ancient right of advowson into a *ius presentandi* by which the rights of the ordinary were increasingly expanded and those of the patron correspondingly reduced.[1] No doubt the intention behind this policy was to limit the rights of the lay patron, but the strengthening of that ordinary jurisdiction over local churches, which was a large part of the *raison d'être* of the archdeacon, inevitably affected the rights of the monastic patron too. The times were no longer favourable to local immunities and peculiars ; the growing centralization of church government and law rendered the creation of new immunities difficult and encroachment on old ones comparatively simple. It may well be that papal reluctance to give a definitive sentence on the points of law raised by the litigation of St. Augustine's was not merely due to dilatoriness or legal incompetence, but to a desire to do what could be done for

Elmham, p. 417, who thought the privileges identical in substance. The full text of Alexander III's privilege is found in E. 164 27, fo. 53^{v}. In spite of this, abbot Roger's immediate successors had to go to Rome for blessing. Dr. Knowles has suggested (*DR*, p. 413) that Alexander III intended St. Augustine's to be on a level with : " those exempt abbeys, chiefly in Italy, whose abbots were regularly blessed by the Pope". But Alexander III's letter of 16 February 1179, announcing abbot Roger's blessing to Henry II, hardly supports this view (Elmham, p. 431). The succeeding abbots-elect went to the pope for blessing because they could not otherwise have been blessed at all. On Roger's death in 1212, his successor, Alexander, was forced to appeal to Rome against Stephen Langton, who produced forged bulls in support of his case (*X Scriptores*, 1866). These were exposed and in their stead Langton appealed to his rights under the common law of the Church ; this case was still under way and uncompleted in 1224 when Robert of Battle, the new abbot of St. Augustine's, obtained blessing, but not a decision, by permitting the appropriation of Littleborne church to the pope's foundation of Mt. Mirteto. This meant that a pension of thirty marks a year was paid by St. Augustine's (ibid. 2107). Exemption from the canonical oath of obedience was explicitly conceded by St. Edmund in 1237 but his successor still refused to recognize this privilege in 1252.

[1] See J. W. Gray, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* lxvii (1952).

the abbey without weakening the canonical position of ordinary authority; there are, of course, cases where the pope behaved less circumspectly, but the tendency of the time was against the local, the particular and the immune.

It would be a mistake to force too close and necessary a connection between the litigation over the abbey's churches and its persistent claim to stand *nullo mediante* to the See of Peter. Dr. Barlow has described a similar conflict of jurisdictions in the diocese of Durham between the cathedral priory and the ordinary. Here the monks, who had no claim to exemption, relied on forged charters granting them archdiaconal powers. The majority of the older Benedictine houses had had churches and authority over them long before the archdeacon had had very much ordinary jurisdiction; it was natural that the monks should resent the growth of his powers. It was equally natural that a monastery which stood in such a special relation to the Holy See should use its privileged position as a means of resisting the archdeacon; and this St. Augustine's did, with very small success.

It is not easy to estimate the full consequences of their failure because it is impossible to know how they would have exploited their churches if they had gained the *plenum ius* they claimed. Excepting their five appropriated churches, the monks got only a small, fixed and archaic pension[1] from their churches. Had their claims been successful they would have had the free disposition of all their churches and by serving them with stipendiary priests they could have considerably increased their revenues; there is some evidence that this was what they wished to do and their motives may then have been in part financial. Only in the five appropriated churches, a small number for so great a monastery,[2] could they make more than these pensions. Even here, in abbot Roger's time, three of the five, Faversham, Milton and Chislet,[3] were temporarily lost to the abbey, so the abbey can, in fact, have relied on its churches for only a small part of its

[1] The figures given in the agreement made for their suppression agree with those given in a list which goes back at least a century (*Royal MS.*, IB. xi, fo. 146^{v}).

[2] Durham priory had nine in the archdeaconery of Durham alone (Barlow, op. cit., p. 38).

[3] For Chislet at this time see Claudius D. x, fo. 171^{v}.

revenue. The fact that for many years after the compromise of 1237 the monks seem to have made little attempt to appropriate any more of their churches, suggests that their motives were not primarily financial. Impalpable but very real motives of prestige must have played some part.

The recounting of this litigation is necessarily tedious to a modern reader, but it was apparently fascinating to the monks of St. Augustine's, if the length at which it is treated in their chronicles is anything to judge by. Apart from St. Alban's, the bulk of narrative material produced at St. Augustine's compares favourably with that of any other English Benedictine house, but it is the least known to historians, and with reason. It might have been expected that the abbey's position as direct tributary to the See of Peter would have given its monks a specially ecumenical outlook, but the chronicles suggest the contrary. It was exemption from the local ordinary not subjection to the universal ordinary which mattered to the chroniclers. It was their antiquity, their tradition, that the narrative historians describe; of anything outside this they have little to say. Thorn's references to the career of St. Thomas are striking, though scanty. Of the quarrel with Henry II he says merely that it happened and that the abbey thought it wise to abandon their lawsuit with abbot Clarembald, then:

"In the year 1170 St. Thomas, archbishop, was martyred in his own church on 29 December and in the fourth and fifth year after that the lawsuit was heard by the above mentioned bishops.[1]

The chroniclers—no doubt they do not tell the whole story—give an extraordinary impression of insularity; not the insularity of Matthew Paris, but the insularity of a horizon bounded by the isle of Sheppey and the isle of Thanet. For all its great traditions and its exemption, the abbey's memorials are narrow, parochial and dull.

[1] *X Scriptores*, 1819.

BOOTH'S RISING OF 1659

By J. R. JONES, M.A., Ph.D.
LECTURER IN MODERN HISTORY, KING'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

DURING the second half of the seventeenth century government in England rested more on the sanction of force than on the consent of the governed. The history of this period cannot be understood unless it is realized that throughout —under Cromwell, Charles, James and William—the character of each successive régime was in question, disputed by at least one section of the nation. From Thurloe to Trenchard the servants of the government were forced to spend much of their time and energies in the investigation of the innumerable plots said to be in existence. Yet, even allowing for the fact that many of these were shams, invented by informers for their own profit or officially fostered so as to implicate suspects, only two risings can properly be dignified with the title of insurrections. The story of Monmouth's rebellion is well known, but the other, that of Sir George Booth in 1659, has been almost forgotten, and is at first sight of comparatively minor importance. The surprisingly easy collapse of the Commonwealth a few months later has obscured the significance of this failure of a concerted attempt to overthrow the republican government by force of arms.

The reasons for Monmouth's defeat are obvious. He rashly undertook his expedition in a cause which was temporarily discredited, with insufficient arms and money and without adequate preparation or promises of support. But Booth's rising ended in an equally complete failure although it had at least the passive sympathies of the majority of the nation, and faced a government detested, disunited and unstable, financially bankrupt and unable to rely on the loyalty of its chief servants. The fact that even the despised Rump should be able to suppress a formidable rebellion shows how great were the advantages possessed by any government which disposed of armed support. The total

defeat of Booth contributed to the survival after the Restoration of a fear of an absolutism based on military force. Englishmen knew that even a comparatively modest army could make the sovereign independent of his subjects. The force which Charles retained might be far smaller than the army of the Commonwealth, but it was sufficiently strong to arouse persistent fears as to the use to which it might be put by the king or his ministers.

Booth was the only leader to rise in 1659 with any success, but originally his was intended to be only one, minor, part of a nation-wide insurrection. A great deal of material exists for the planning and progress of the other attempted risings, but, not surprisingly, little seems to have survived which relates to the preparations which Booth made.[1] It must be assumed that he destroyed his papers in order to avoid incriminating his associates, or that some of them were captured by the authorities after his defeat.[2] However, there is, in the John Rylands Library, a memorandum drawn up by one of the principals concerned with Booth which throws light on his rising, and on the more general problems of organization and political and military strategy, which had to be faced if the Commonwealth was to be overthrown by force.[3]

* * * * * * *

The nature of the problems which faced all royalist plotters had become clear by 1658. Cromwell and the Commonwealth were intensely and almost universally hated. The force of this detestation took by surprise even such a staunch royalist as Ormonde when he returned in secret after years of exile.[4] Except for careerists and opportunists Cromwell had alienated almost all those who had once supported him. The question which the royalists had to solve was how to exploit his isolation and

[1] The Earl of Stamford has very kindly informed me that there are no unpublished papers at Dunham Massey relating to Booth and his rising.

[2] Bulstrode Whitelock, *Memorials* (1853), iv. 362; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1659-60*, p. 171; *Clarke Papers* (Camden Society, 1901), iv. 48. All mention papers of Booth's in the hands of the government.

[3] *Mainwaring Manuscripts*, Manuscripts Books 24, in the hand of Colonel Roger Whitley and endorsed on the cover "Bruges 1658".

[4] T. Carte, *Life of . . . Ormonde* (1736), ii. 179.

unpopularity. Those who had become disaffected were not automatically ready to support Charles. The extensive plans which were made for a general rising in 1655 came to nothing. Only Penruddock succeeded so far as to declare openly for the king, and his brave but pathetic demonstration lasted only four days. But despite the ease with which he had suppressed the rising Cromwell realized how dangerous his unpopularity had become. His reorganization of public security under the Major-Generals increased still further the detestation in which his regime was held, and emphasized the oppressiveness of military rule. But at the same time this new organization added considerably to the difficulties of undertaking another rebellion.

This failure did not deter all royalists. The leaders known as the Knot continued to show themselves dilatory, defeatist and incompetent, but some younger men were eager for another attempt. In the spring of 1658 the situation seemed to be encouraging. By the quarrels and disputes which ended with the dissolution of Parliament, Cromwell added again to the number of his enemies. Moreover, there was at last the prospect of military assistance from abroad, as Charles now possessed several regiments under his control in the Spanish Netherlands. Yet the failure in 1658 was even more abject and complete than before.[1] Preventive arrests broke up the royalist organization before anyone could take the field. The king had been assured that the chances of success were good, but when at great risk Ormonde crossed to investigate he found that these optimistic reports had little basis in reality.[2]

First he met those of inferior rank, concealing his own identity so that he could ascertain their real opinions and plans. From their incoherent and uncertain narratives he soon realized that nothing was to be expected from them. The shortcomings of the more important leaders disturbed him even more. Their plans were incomplete. In no case did they approach certainty. As before, the members of the Knot emphasized the difficulties which they encountered, and showed by their dissensions how

[1] For the abortive attempts in 1658 see C. H. Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate*, vol. ii ; Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (1888), vi. 42-58.

[2] Crale, ii. 176-8 ; Clarendon vi. 54-5.

bitterly they were divided both on the policy to be followed and on personalities. Ormonde discovered further difficulties when he tried to negotiate with the Presbyterians, who by this time were prepared to translate their hatred of Cromwell into action to secure his overthrow. The royalists had talked of seeking their help, but no agreement had been reached or even seriously negotiated, and the insistence of their leaders on the conditions of the Isle of Wight treaty of 1648 promised to raise endless difficulties. Certainly Ormonde found that there was little prospect of their giving assistance to an insurrection in the immediate future.

With such evident lack of preparation Ormonde had no alternative but to advise caution and delay. He had come ready to put himself at the head of a rising; before he returned to the king he urged the royalists to remain inactive until Charles invaded with an army. The Commonwealth command of the sea—ships were in 1658 blockading Ostend—made such an invasion impracticable.[1] Ormonde's advice amounted to an expression of no confidence in the existing organization and leaders. The subsequent detection of part of the conspiracy, and the arrest of some of the leaders, confirmed his judgement and completed the ruin of the royalists. In the summer of 1658, when their fortunes were at their nadir, John Mordaunt arrived in England as a new leader. After surviving arrest and trial by the High Court of Justice he set out to reorganize the royalist underground. Despite, or perhaps because of, his youth and vigour the Knot did little or nothing to help him. Their obstructionism, and the defeatist attitude they encouraged, added further problems to those with which any royalist leader was confronted by the strength of the government.[2]

The nature of the problems which confronted the royalists formed the subject of a memorandum drawn up in 1658 by Colonel Roger Whitley. At the time Whitley was a gentleman usher at the King's Court, but he had considerable experience as a royalist agent. Originally an attendant on Charles I he had fought in both the civil wars and had remained behind in

[1] Firth, ii. 66.

[2] *Clarendon State Papers* (*CSP.*), iii. 391, 452, 463, 482.

England as an agent and collector of intelligence. One of his most valuable—and puzzling—accomplishments was the ease with which he repeatedly crossed the Channel while acting as a courier for the king. A member of a Cheshire family with estates in Flintshire, he possessed connections throughout North Wales and the north west, and from his previous service. These assets made him a figure of local rather than national importance, and throughout his long life he never quite achieved the first rank.[1] But at this time the prospects before a successful royal agent must have seemed almost limitless; most of those who were to play leading parts during the reign of Charles II were still private persons, often in obscure positions.

In default of further evidence it is impossible to say whether Whitley's memorandum had any direct influence on Mordaunt's plans, but the two men were closely associated and their views in close accord. The memorandum consists of four parts: suggested heads for a royal declaration, a discussion of the possibilities of foreign aid, an analysis of the problems and methods of organizing a successful rising, and, finally, long lists of those whose services could be used. Many of the names are endorsed as being already active, and Whitley added suggestions as to the commissions and duties with which they could be entrusted.[2]

The fact that of these four sections the weakest is undoubtedly that on "forreigne Force and Ayds" is not without significance.[3] At first sight Whitley's estimates can be dismissed as naïve and improbable, some of his suggestions being quite absurd. Apart from their obligations to Cromwell, the Jews, for instance, could hardly be expected to finance a pretender whose credit stood so low as that of Charles. The Dutch

[1] After 1660 he was to hold a series of financial offices, the most important being that of deputy Postmaster. As an M.P. for Flint and Chester he became a moderate Whig, being one of those who welcomed Monmouth in 1682. After 1688, in association with the second Lord Delamere, he led the Whig interest in the north west, and served as Mayor of Chester for four years and entertained William III on his way to Ireland.

[2] They total 686 names, of whom over 170 are endorsed as active. The counties with the most named are those with which Whitley was most familiar—Anglesey, Denbighshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and Flint.

[3] *Mainwaring* 24, pp. 76-7.

republican government had every reason to hinder, not to further, the restoration of the uncle of the young Prince of Orange. Whitley went so far as to note that some assistance might be forthcoming from so remote a potentate as the Tsar of Muscovy, since an English merchant had some influence with his chancellor. Nor was it very practicable to suggest that Poland and Transylvania might contribute money. The fact that Whitley laid comparatively little stress on the possibility of obtaining help from France and Spain gives us a clue to his attitude. He gave these two states prominence in the list only because of the geographical advantages which their territories offered for launching an invasion of the British Isles. Although he did not say so explicitly, it is clear that Whitley shared the views held by Hyde and Mordaunt that it would be better for the king to owe his restoration to his own subjects.[1] He concluded that if foreigners played the major share in a successful invasion and rising they would become as formidable to the king's friends as to his foes.

Whitley stressed the practical problems of collecting, feeding, paying and above all transporting foreign troops, and he saw how considerable the political repercussions were likely to be. As in 1651 their very presence might alienate Englishmen. Since most of those likely to be available would be Papists the king's cause might suffer even more fatal and permanent harm. Without displaying obvious religious prejudice Whitley realized how considerable were the dangers of using Roman Catholic assistance. Many of the Cavaliers whom he listed were recusants, but these lay Catholics who had fought for the king had little influence on their leaders and higher clergy.[2] Nobody at the royal court at this time could have been unaware of the difficulties which the leading Catholic laymen and priests associated with the Queen Mother were creating for the king and Hyde.[3] The

[1] *Letter Book of John, Viscount Mordaunt* (Camden Society, 1945) (*Mordaunt*), p. 6; *CSP.* iii. 496.

[2] The highest proportion of Papists was in Lancashire, sixteen of the forty-two royalists listed, including Lord Mollineux, Sir William and Richard Gerard, and Blundell of Ince.

[3] Whitley was in fact corresponding with one of the most troublesome, Nicholas Bodkin, *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 37. See F. J. Routledge, *England and the Treaty of the Pyrenees*, pp. 42-3.

higher clergy had it in their power to subscribe large sums of money, of which Charles was as usual in desperate need, and the Jesuits could exert valuable diplomatic pressure, in particular on the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. But they would act "upon no other account but to Improve the Interest of their Religion". This prospect hardly counter-balanced the certain propaganda value to the Commonwealth of any agreement with the Papists.

The failures of 1655 and 1658 showed conclusively that casual and haphazard preparations were certain to lead to the piece-meal suppression of attempts at uprisings. Whitley realized that the first task would be to raise the spirit of those who had become discouraged by repeated failure, inept leadership, severe punishments and treachery.[1] A few royalists had turned informer, their eradication was the first essential. This problem was more easily stated than solved, and the name of Sir Richard Willis appears on Whitley's lists as an active member of the royalist underground.[2] Equally important as a cause of defeat had been the divided counsels of the leaders, and the isolation of many of the principals. This had made an already difficult task of co-ordinating local risings almost impossible. A single rising had no hope of success; concerted action was made difficult by poor communications and a total lack of mutual confidence. Remembering Penruddock's fate, each group feared that if they led the way they would expose themselves to the first shock of the enemy, and might well be left isolated and defenceless by the failure of their friends. Even the question of timing raised almost insuperable difficulties. If the leaders allowed a generous margin of time for the notification of local leaders then information would certainly reach the government. The uncertainty of wind and weather made it virtually impossible to assure those willing to rise that they would receive assistance from abroad at any stated time.

These were the difficulties which faced anyone attempting to organize resistance to the government at any time during the

[1] *Mainwaring* 24, pp. 77-8.

[2] Willis' treachery has now been conclusively proved (D. E. Underdown in *English Historical Review*, lxix, "Sir Richard Willis and Secretary Thurloe").

century; they were to be encountered, but never solved, by Monmouth in 1685 and the Jacobites in 1715. Whitley's solution to them lay in more efficient organization. Instead of relying upon vague assumptions that once a rising began the nation would gladly join in the overthrow of the tyrant, specific military plans must be drawn up in advance. At least two, and probably more, armies should be raised, one in the west to draw off the army, the other to seize London. Preferably other forces should be organized to create additional diversions and to prevent the intervention of forces from Ireland and Scotland. No one could say in advance where the king, or an army from abroad, would be able to land; therefore the plans must be flexible enough to provide for several alternatives. Wherever the invasion did come, and this would depend largely on whether the royalists could seize a convenient port, then all the king's friends were to join him immediately. Their assistance would be particularly valuable in providing him with cavalry and mounts, the most difficult parts of an army to bring by sea. If the king did not land in their area, the insurgents should remain on the defensive, or even retreat to some stronghold. This would occupy the forces of the enemy, and keep him in a state of uncertainty, while waverers would come in if royalist forces could hold their own, even for a fortnight.

This plan of campaign resembles that which was to be followed in the next year, but before it could be attempted much preliminary work was necessary. Whitley advocated decentralization to solve the problems of co-ordinating simultaneous risings.[1] England would have to be cantonized, that is, divided into associations of counties, grouped together for military purposes as in the civil war. Each was to be commanded by a single officer, advised by a small council, and given very wide powers to grant commissions and to treat with those who had formerly fought against the king. He should prepare for action in the minutest detail, issuing commissions to subordinates, enlisting men, procuring supplies, gathering intelligence and keeping the enemy under constant observation. Certain

[1] *Mainwaring* 24, pp. 90-1. He suggested risings in Wales and the Borders, the Severn valley, the North West, the Home Counties and East Anglia.

districts could be used for the maintenance of horses without suspicion until the time of the rising. If failure was to be avoided local strategy must not be improvised at the last moment, a great deal could be done in advance to select towns, places and houses to be fortified or used as refuges. Lists of delinquents should be made so that their surprise and arrest would strip the enemy of leaders at the outset.

Whitley elaborated the organization necessary within each association.[1] Officers were to be commissioned in every county and hundred. The elderly or unfit could serve as commissioners entrusted with the supply of men, money and victuals. In order to be able to calculate the exact strength of his forces the commanders were to decide how many men should be retained for defence within the association, and how many to be spared for service elsewhere. In the circumstances the scale of organization demanded by this scheme, which was obviously modelled on the parliamentarian organization in the civil war, proved to be quite impracticable. Whitley had to admit that the royalists were already, and as a matter of routine, kept under a close watch. All were known. The few who still enjoyed freedom of movement had for the most part abandoned the struggle and come to terms with the government. Moreover fines, compositions and differential taxation had so reduced the circumstances and spirit of many royalists that they could no longer give any assistance.

Whitley saw that there was no alternative but to seek an alliance with the Presbyterians. Like Mordaunt he argued the case for negotiation from necessity;[2] he did not particularly relish the idea of combining with old enemies who had stood aloof in both 1648 and 1651. But though he appreciated the dangers inherent in such an alliance, for the Presbyterians had objectives of their own which it might be difficult to reconcile with the interests of the king, the advantages outweighed them. Whitley admitted that as a party they were more formidable than the royalists:

> The Presbyterians have bin in power both in the Parliament and Armyes since the Royalists were defeated and consequently have had a latter influence on the

[1] *Mainwaring* 24, pp. 81-9. He seems to have thought that this organization should continue after the king was restored. [2] *CSP.* iii. 450.

nation ; they were not broken by force (as the Royalist) but rather subplanted consequently not so many of them destroyed in theire persons nor theire estates sequestrated neither are they totally disarmed.[1]

Few Presbyterians were subject to any particular restraints. They retained elementary but important advantages denied to former royalists ; they kept good horses in their stables, corresponded freely, travelled to London and resided there when they pleased. Whereas Anglican services were officially prohibited, and in practice often suppressed, Presbyterian worship gave members of the party frequent opportunities for meeting. In contrast to the royalists Whitley rather enviously noted their greater coherence and unity. They were less divided by " faction, jealousy or emulation ", their ministers playing an important part in preserving this unity. Not only did they still often possess their arms from the war, but some of the leaders claimed to retain influence in the army and fleet. On the whole they represented the better sort of those who had fought against the king in the first civil war. It is interesting to note that Whitley considered that they were particularly influential in the manufacturing districts, and significant in view of Booth's rising that he should have added especially in Lancashire and Cheshire.[2] Finally, the Presbyterians could depend on the active support and sympathy of co-religionists on the continent, unlike the Anglicans, " there being no other Church that professeth the Discipline of the Church of England ".

The differences which obstructed an alliance with the Presbyterians were primarily political. Many royalists had not lost any of their old animosity. The Knot had toyed with the idea of such an alliance, but their sentiments did not allow them to go far, and Willis seems to have used his old animosity as a self-justification of his treachery.[3] On the other hand, few of the leading Presbyterians would act unless they were first given certain assurances. This was not a new problem, but the difficulties of meeting and communicating with the exiled Court, together with lack of confidence, prevented any easy solution. Mordaunt was entrusted as the king's agent with very full powers, but he could hardly be given plenipotentiary authority to

[1] *Mainwaring* 24, p. 79. [2] Ibid. [3] *Mordaunt*, p. 31.

conclude a treaty with the Presbyterians which might have considerable and permanent effects on the position and powers of the king. Whitley's suggestion had the merit of simplicity. Discussion with the Presbyterians should relate only to general principles and undertakings which would not commit the king on points of detail. In this way Charles could avoid conditions being imposed upon him which might prove crippling in the future. At the same time it would be safe to give individuals promises of personal rewards for their services.[1]

In the declaration which he drafted, but which was soon to be made obsolete by the death of Cromwell, the greatest stress was laid on the tyrannical acts of the Commonwealth. Whitley identified the king's cause with the protection of the Constitution, and of the rights of the subject no less than those of the Crown. He proposed to circumvent the problems raised by religion, and it is interesting to see how closely he anticipated the words of the Declaration of Breda in doing so,

> And to remove all Fears and Jealousies we doe here promise, soe soon as it shall please God to enthrone us to call a free Parlt and by their advice as that of Godly and learned divines to settle all differences in Religion for as shall be nearest to the word of God and having respect to tender consciences of what persuasion soever.[2]

In expressing this opinion Whitley probably had the same purpose as Hyde in 1660, to engage and satisfy the Presbyterians until their support was no longer essential. Yet, as his career after the Restoration was to show, Whitley did not regard them still as enemies. His adaptability and tolerance fitted him for the task of establishing contact with both royalists and Presbyterians in the north west.

* * * * * * *

The rising of 1659 has come to be associated with Booth, but in the original plans his was to be only a secondary part. Success depended on the participation of both royalists and Presbyterians. As in 1655 and 1658 the organizers planned simultaneous or successive risings in many parts of the country. But whereas the earlier plans had been defective, incomplete and irresolutely executed, Mordaunt's arrival and leadership

[1] *Mainwaring* 24, p. 90. [2] Ibid. p. 69.

transformed the situation. He needed and enjoyed the confidence and support of the king. Despite their constant failures the Knot complained that they were being supplanted. His vigour and independence they described as rashness and impudence. They excused their continued inactivity by claiming that a suitable opportunity for a rising had not yet arrived.[1] The increasing dissensions among the republicans encouraged them to advocate further delay. Furthermore, they did not conceal their distrust of the Presbyterians, and their dislike of Mordaunt's intention to place so much reliance upon these former enemies.

Exasperated by their delays and refusal to co-operate, Mordaunt went even further than Whitley in his denunciation of the royalists; he described them as the laziest and most irresolute of parties. The attitude of the Knot made Presbyterian assistance all the more essential, and by reason of his family connections Mordaunt was well fitted to negotiate for their help.[2] In the three crucial areas, which it should be noted did not include Cheshire, the chances of success depended on the enlistment of Presbyterian allies.[3] As might be expected, they were strong in East Anglia, the citadel of the old parliamentarian cause, and an area all the more vital because of the ports through which an army could easily be brought from Ostend. Whitley had suggested Yarmouth and Harwich, but in 1659 the choice fell on Lynn.[4] This was less convenient as a port, but the commander of the garrison had offered to come over on an agreed signal, and Lord Willoughby agreed to take possession of the town.[5] An agent went to Holland to arrange shipments of arms to equip all those who came in as recruits. Lynn had an advantage in that the extensive estates of Sir Horatio Townshend were not far distant. He, a Presbyterian

[1] *CSP.* iii. 460, 463.

[2] Although Mordaunt's puritan mother disapproved of his royalist activities he found no difficulty in approaching the Presbyterian leaders.

[3] *CSP.* iii. 460; Booth, Lord Willoughby, Waller, Townshend and Howe received their commissions on 2 May. Ibid. 489; in June Manchester promised his assistance. Mordaunt hoped that through him the rest of the party could be engaged.

[4] *CSP.* iii. 469-70; *Mordaunt*, p. 6. [5] *CSP.* iii. 472, 483.

and the first of the great Norfolk family to achieve more than county prominence, had been engaged by Mordaunt. But he would move only if Lynn were first secured, although if he did so Mordaunt believed that all Norfolk would fall into the hands of the insurgents.[1]

In London, the chief objective of any rising, Major-General Browne proved to be still more cautious and wary. His reluctance to give any commitment made negotiation with him extremely difficult.[2] This need not be a fatal disadvantage. Until the royalists and their friends had taken the field in the provinces, and so drawn off the bulk of the army, London was to remain passive. Like Browne, the wealthier and graver sort in the capital, those who had a lot to lose in case of defeat, were in any case likely to remain spectators until they saw whether the rising would succeed. This was certain to be determined by what happened in the west country, particularly in the well populated and semi-industrialized areas around Bristol and Gloucester. As the civil war campaigns had shown, these two ports possessed immense strategical significance. A royal invasion here would pay even bigger dividends than a descent on East Anglia, even though it involved a longer and more perilous voyage. The king realized this and promised to come in person on news of a rising.[3] These cities were wealthy. Both contained arsenals of arms and munitions, and large numbers of recruits had already been listed in them for service. Under their protection Devon and Cornwall could rise in relative safety.[4]

In the west, as in the east, success depended on the participation of the Presbyterians. Mordaunt's two chief agents had both fought for Parliament in the first civil war, although they had then become members of the minority who had actively

[1] Ibid. p. 472; *Mordaunt*, p. 24. It was expected that Norfolk would supply the king with a thousand horses, which could be procured in Flanders and transported only with great difficulty.

[2] *CSP.* iii. 452; *Nicholas Papers* (Camden Society, 1920), iv. 74-6; Baker, *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1730), p. 572.

[3] *CSP.* iii. 471-2, 487.

[4] Ibid. p. 482. These counties were not willing to rise unless they were assured that an army would land somewhere in the west.

supported the king in 1648 and 1651. Both retained contacts with the Presbyterian leaders. Massey, who had commanded the Gloucester garrison in its heroic defence in 1643,[1] spent the summer months secretly in the neighbourhood. Silas Titus, without such local knowledge or influence, travelled to and from the Continent and London, bringing instructions and taking back reports.[2] From the first the signs were only partially encouraging. At one stage plans seemed to be so far advanced and promises of support sufficiently encouraging for a promise to be made of action on receipt of forty-eight hours notice.[3] Seamen were to seize the Bristol garrison, and to be reinforced by a small contingent from the country. The townsmen were expected to help in the defence of the city in the event of a siege. At Gloucester a royalist physician undertook to open a gate, and it seemed that Howe, the Presbyterian ancestor of a great Tory family, could be relied to come in with a thousand foot.[4] In addition, a surprise attack was to be made on Chepstow. The capture of this key point would enable the South Wales counties to send men and supplies.

Later developments exposed these estimates as over-optimistic. Massey began to suspect Howe when he found that persons reported by him as ready to come in had not even been approached.[5] When Howe fell under suspicion and was summoned by the Council all his plans collapsed.[6] Further complications arose when parallel negotiations with another prominent Presbyterian, Colonel Popham, broke down. Though Titus had concluded that the business was well advanced without Popham, his support was in fact indispensable. At

[1] Even at the time of the siege he had been prepared to betray his command to the king; like Monk he can be best described as a soldier of fortune.

[2] Titus had written the famous pamphlet *Killing no Murder* advocating the assassination of Cromwell. Both he and Massey, although reputed to be Presbyterians, had joined the royalists in 1648 and 1651, unlike the vast majority of their co-religionists who remained inactive.

[3] *CSP.* iii. 509-10. Report by Titus, 21 June/1 July.

[4] *Nicholas Papers*, iv. 114-16; *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Xth Report, vi. 200.

[5] *Nicholas Papers*, iv. 158-9, 23 June. The tone this of report is in striking contrast to the more optimistic account of Titus.

[6] *Nicholas Papers*, iv. 158-9.

first hesitant, he had then apparently promised to raise very large forces when, and on condition that, the king landed in the west. But as the date for the rising approached his attitude changed. His wife showed a natural anxiety. Apparently he learnt something of the defeatism and caution of the Knot. Although still expressing devotion for the king's cause, and a readiness to act accordingly, he disavowed undertakings which had been made in his name and denied that he had given the king encouragement on the seizure of Bristol and Gloucester.[1] Thus when Mordaunt made his report on 6 June, Charles quickly detected its deficiencies.[2] Mordaunt claimed progress in the preparations in other parts of the country, but made no mention of the west. Later he put a more favourable complexion on the situation, but in doing so he relied more on hopes and aspirations than on definite promises of support and formulated plans.

During the summer of 1659 Mordaunt had to postpone the date fixed for the rising and send an express to the king telling him not to come over. This set-back seems to have decided him against any further delay for fear that this would produce the collapse of all his plans, and give the government time to discover the full ramifications of the conspiracy. After being brought with difficulty to act, and only after such protracted negotiations, the Presbyterians would probably distrust all future approaches. The consideration that the Knot supported a further delay must have helped to resolve Mordaunt in favour of immediate action. In the past their judgements had invariably proved to be wrong; their present caution could with some plausibility be attributed to spite and jealousy. Therefore, despite the uncertainty of the plans for the west—soon to be demonstrated by the complete failure of the rising there—Mordaunt refused to consider withdrawing the order for a general rising on 1 August.

Elsewhere preparations appeared to be further advanced. The only serious gap was in the extreme north where Mordaunt had few friends or associates, but instructions were sent to

[1] *CSP.* iii. 478, 505, 516, 517-18; *Nicholas Papers*, iv. 97-9, 158-9.
[2] *CSP.* iii. 482-3, 536. *Mordaunt*, p. 30.

royalists there on his behalf.[1] In the rest of the country, Mordaunt had made extensive preparations for several local risings intended to support the main efforts around Lynn and Bristol, either by providing reinforcements or by diverting the attention of the enemy. In the Midlands attempts were planned for the seizure of Warwick, Worcester and Shrewsbury. Further risings had been promised in Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. Mordaunt himself was to lead in Surrey, and royalists and Presbyterians were reported to be ready in Kent and Sussex.[2]

The part assigned to Booth was only one among these comparatively less important risings, and consequently it did not receive so much attention in the general preparations as did the plans for Bristol and Lynn. However, in one respect it differed from the other local risings in that the details were left largely to Booth himself.[3] The Presbyterians of Lancashire and Cheshire accepted him as their natural leader, no rival contested his influence with them. On the other hand, we do not have sufficient evidence to say how the royalists, as distinct from the Presbyterians, were contacted and organized. Whitley arrived shortly before the date fixed for the rising with instructions from Mordaunt and messages and commissions direct from Charles in Flanders.[4] Furthermore, the majority of those royalists who took part appear on the list which he had compiled the previous year of those suitable to serve as officers.[5] But there must have been more detailed organization, unknown to us, and it is not clear whether the royalists had any direct local connection with Booth for any length of time before the rising began.

The autonomy which Booth enjoyed, and was such as Whitley had recommended for each association, together with the closely knit Presbyterian connection in the north west, gave him his initial success. In May 1659 Booth received his commission from Mordaunt, and undertook to raise Cheshire and south Lancashire.[6] He made a very favourable impression—for

[1] *CSP.* iii. 477. [2] *CSP.* iii. 489. [3] *CSP.* iii. 472, 477.

[4] Ormerod, *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1819, ii. 180; *Calendar Clarendon State Papers* (*Cal. CSP.*), iv. 318.

[5] *Mercurius Politicus*, 7 September 1659, gives a list of the most important prisoners. [6] *CSP.* iii. 460.

a Presbyterian, Mordaunt noted—and appeared worthy to be trusted to fulfil his promises.[1] Like the majority of his party, Booth had never before appeared for the king, but had stood aloof in 1648 and 1651. He had continued to serve as a Justice of the Peace, and had been elected to both of Cromwell's Parliaments, only to be excluded as a member likely to prove hostile to the Lord Protector. In the extent of his influence, estates and wealth his family stood second only to the Stanleys.[2] This predominance, and his relative freedom from suspicion, greatly facilitated the organization and preparation of his rising. He could send his brother and uncle, both formerly officers in the parliamentarian army, as couriers to London without hindrance.[3] When the time came his name and influence would carry the ministers of his persuasion. By means of a steady and systematic correspondence he secured the support of his tenants, relatives and connections. The only serious interruption to his plans came at the end of June and the beginning of July, at the same time that Popham became wary and doubtful. Booth's confidence started to waver when he heard of Henry Cromwell's unexpected submission to the new government formed after the fall of his brother, the Protector Richard. This news led Booth to fear that his rising would be easily and quickly suppressed by the troops which could now be expected to be sent from Ireland.[4] Moreover, all attempts had failed to organize diversions across the channel to occupy the garrison. However, Booth's hesitation did not last long ; in the middle of July he assured Mordaunt of his constancy and determination.[5]

* * * * * * *

During the summer of 1659 the republican government established after the fall of Richard Cromwell seemed to be on the point of disintegration. The Rump, the small and utterly unrepresentative corrupt fraction of the Long Parliament, feared the officers who commanded the army. They in turn regarded

[1] *CSP.* iii. 472, Mordaunt commented, "a presbyterian in opinion, yet so moral a man if ever any of that principle were to be relied on, I think Your Majesty may safely rely on him and his promises".

[2] *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 113.

[3] *Mordaunt*, p. 27.

[4] *CSP.* iii. 516-18.

[5] *Mordaunt*, pp. 26, 27.

the members with unconcealed contempt, but were themselves bitterly divided by personal rivalry and political differences. Purges of the subordinate officers had reduced the military value and the morale of the troops.[1] The pay of the common soldiers had fallen far into arrears; their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by the knowledge that their officers were speculating with the certificates issued to the men in lieu of pay. London and the nation at large showed themselves extremely restive under the burden of the heavy taxation imposed for the maintenance of the detested army.

All these factors encouraged Mordaunt to carry out his plans without further delay. Therefore he fixed the general rising for 1 August. However, on 28 July the military authorities intercepted letters from Mordaunt to Massey giving him his final instructions.[2] Obviously this affected the plans for the attempt on Gloucester, but the fact that the government learnt of the imminence of the rising need not have been fatal. Admittedly orders were sent forthwith to all militia commanders instructing them to stand to their guard and arrest suspected persons.[3] But the government had known for some time that a rising was being planned and had already taken precautionary measures. As early as 9 July orders had been sent to the militia.[4] Vice-Admiral Lawson's ships already blockaded Ostend.[5] On the day that the letters were intercepted the Council authorized a Proclamation ordering Mordaunt to surrender.[6]

By the seizure of the letters the government did not learn anything, except for the one enterprise with which Massey was concerned, which it did not already know or suspect. The effect at first was rather to increase its uncertainty and anxiety than to make the whole rising futile from the start.[7] But in one sense the warning which the government received did prove to be decisive. The orders sent to the militia, and the precautions which followed, would not have prevented a resolute execution

[1] *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 24; *Mordaunt*, p. 25. [2] *Clarke Papers*, iv. 28.
[3] *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 49, 29 July.
[4] *CSPD. 1659-60*, pp. 15-16. *Cal. CSP.* iv. 295-7, precautions were already being taken by the local commanders. [5] *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 31.
[6] *CSPD. 1659-60*, pp. 46-7, 28 July; *Commons Journals*, vii. 739.
[7] *CSP.* iii. 556.

of the plans for simultaneous risings, with the single exception of Gloucester. But they did provide the faint-hearted and defeatist with a ready excuse for inactivity. Success or failure depended on risings being attempted in each part of the country which would be too formidable for the local militia to be able to put them down without having to appeal to the Council for the assistance of the central army. All these local risings need not succeed in themselves, they would play their part if they attracted the attention and resources of the enemy. In some cases it would be enough if they remained on the defensive or even retired to some stronghold.

If several of the local risings succeeded, even for a time, the government would soon become baffled, uncertain which was intended to be the main rising, and so how and where to use the central striking force. The mobile army, both in numbers and in morale, had deteriorated in the months since the death of Oliver. In the counties most of the troops were occupied in holding the chief towns and forts, the mobile reserves were too few to hope to be able to hold the field against a determined enemy.[1] Should the central force have to be scattered in order to suppress dispersed, risings then London would be exposed to internal subversion and Kent to an invasion from over-seas. On the other hand, if the army were held back at first, the insurgents would be given time to arm and embody their recruits, and to concentrate the forces of several districts. The king, or one of his brothers, would be given an opportunity to organize and undertake an invasion.

Above all, any initial royalist successes, even the mere fact of their being able at last to put forces into the field, would certainly encourage waverers. The subsequent collapse of this insurrection must not blind us to the fact that the position of the government was extremely precarious. In fact, had Mordaunt shown himself less precipitate, had the rising been postponed only a few weeks, its success must have been inevitable. Once again the royalists paid dearly for the separation of one section of their agents from another. At the time of the

[1] In Kent there were only 250 horse and foot, apart from those necessary to hold the garrison towns.

rising one agent was on his way to negotiate with Monk in Scotland,[1] and another about to leave for Copenhagen to treat with Montague, the commander of the fleet in the Sound.[2] Neither had any love for the new government, and of course in the next year these two men between them were to be primarily responsible for the Restoration. Both at this time gave promise of being ready to support the insurrection, and Montague went so far as to bring back his fleet without orders,[3] but by the time that they were in a position to do so it had collapsed in failure.

Except in Cheshire and Lancashire, the risings planned for 1 August came to nothing in a way reminiscent of the fiascos of 1655. Some of the appointed rendezvous had become known to the government; the insurgents found them guarded and patrolled. But even where they were not known, the number who appeared in arms as they had promised was miserably insufficient. Groups such as the forty horsemen who tried to assemble at Tonbridge, sixty in Hampshire, the handful led by Mordaunt himself in Surrey, were easily and speedily dispersed. Small groups skulked in the woods around Tooting until they realized that the whole enterprise was futile. In the west 3,000 men should have assembled at Lansdown, only seventy came. A mere fifty men joined Charles Littleton and marched purposelessly as far as the Wrekin; they were far too few to attempt to surprise Shrewsbury as had been intended, although the townspeople were known to be sympathetic. The county troop chased small groups of royalists through Sherwood Forest, and although five of the fugitives actually seized Derby and tried to raise fresh forces, this piece of bravado soon came to an end.[4]

[1] *CSP.* iii. 543. The royalist emissary left to negotiate with Monk about 5 August; the king had been asked to give him plenipotentiary powers on 6 July (516). Monk made no positive move, but played a waiting game, refusing to send troops to assist his rival Lambert (*C.S.P., Venetian, 1659-61*, p. 57).

[2] Carte, ii. 186; the envoy got to Copenhagen 23 August. Montagu had already been approached by Hyde (*CSP.* iii. 497) and had promised his support should circumstances be favourable (*Cal. CSP.* iv. 296-7).

[3] T. Carte, *Original Letters* (1739), ii. 202. He returned in order to blockade the Thames, but on arrival learnt of Booth's defeat.

[4] For the various unsuccessful attempts at risings see Clarke, iv. 30-45, 285, 290; Mordaunt's report in *CSP.* iii. 558-9; *Cal. CSP.* pp. 304 ff; *CSPD. 1659-60*, pp. 87, 113, 120.

The majority of those who should have risen, royalists for the most part, stayed at home and passively submitted to arrest. Infected by the defeatism of the Knot, they were not willing to risk their lives and property in local risings which might be suppressed even though the insurrection as a whole succeeded. Some were genuinely averse to a victory due mainly to Presbyterian help. Apart from lethargy, cowardice and personal rancour, one suspects that jealousy of Mordaunt played a large part.

The discouragement spread by the Knot effectively killed all real chances of success. They sent messengers to say that the whole kingdom had deserted the engagement.[1] This message was accepted, apparently with relief, by many who had only a few days earlier assured Mordaunt of their preparedness. As a result of their inactivity the various local risings either did not take place at all, or were suppressed by the local forces, without fighting or casualties, and without their having to call on the assistance of the central army. This defeatism very nearly stopped Booth as well. On 30 July he met some of his confederates in Manchester and decided to rise the next day instead of waiting until 1 August.[2] Had he not done so, it is doubtful whether any rising would have taken place in the north west. For soon after he had assembled his friends and tenants-in-arms, begun recruiting and declared for a free Parliament, he received a discouraging letter from Lord Bruce, one of those which had dissuaded others from carrying out their undertakings.[3] In fact, the Knot had not greatly cared whether the letter reached Booth in time or not to prevent his appearing in arms, but even they were forced to regret their action when they learnt of his initial successes.

Booth naturally hesitated after reading Bruce's letter, but his colleagues remonstrated that there could now be no turning back; having once appeared in arms, they would face ruin if they tamely dispersed.[4] Indeed, he soon gained control over south Lancashire and all Cheshire, and it is hard to avoid the

[1] *CSP.* iii. 556.
[2] Clarke, iv. 288-9. 31 July was a Sunday.
[3] Carte, *Letters*, ii. 194.
[4] Ibid. p. 195

conclusion that with more resolute leadership, the same measure of success could have been achieved elsewhere. The local authorities already suspected him, but had not been strong enough to take any action.[1] The militia, although alerted, could not hold the field against the insurgents. Colonel Ireland, one of the officers who had just been purged, went over to Booth with two troops of horse.[2] The remainder of the local forces retreated precipitately to the shelter of Chester Castle and sent appeals for help to London.

Booth's appearance in arms soon attracted very considerable support. Those who had already been enlisted before the rising —for the most part Presbyterians—joined Booth well armed and mounted. Directions issued in the parish churches on 31 July by the ministers produced numerous recruits.[3] At the first rendezvous on 2 August at Rowton Heath 500 men were present, but this number soon rose to more than 3,000.[4] Not all could be armed, and some at least of the tenants were there unwillingly, but Booth now found himself at the head of something more than a mere mob. Many had service experience, and enough officers came in to put them into some kind of military order. With perfect timing Colonel Whitley arrived bringing messages from the king and Mordaunt.[5] Neither their contents nor Booth's reaction are known, but the fact that Booth was in touch with Charles is of significance. Later some royalists, whose animus against the Presbyterians had in no way diminished, asserted that Booth had never intended to restore the king. In fact, the whole question of whether the rising was to promote the king's restoration, and whether he should at once be proclaimed, was best left alone until victory had been achieved.

It seems that Booth did favour the eventual restoration of the king. He had come to an understanding with Mordaunt

[1] Clarke, iv. 288-9. Colonel Thomas Birch heard rumours of the intended rising on 28 July, and learnt that arms were being moved to Dunham Massey.

[2] *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 24. On 13 July orders had been sent for the replacement of Ireland as one of the militia commanders for Lancashire.

[3] Clarke, iv. 288-9. *Mercurius Politicus* for 7 September listed two ministers among those taken prisoner after Booth's forces were scattered.

[4] Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 573; J. A. Atkinson, *Tracts relating to the Civil War in Cheshire* (Chetham Society), p. 164.

[5] Baker, p. 573.

and had twice received instructions from the king, which implies that he was in favour.[1] Later, when Booth lay in the Tower, Charles wrote assuring him that he was not forgotten, and that he believed that Booth had always intended his restoration.[2] At the time of the rising Booth wisely refrained from committing himself. The first essential was to organize against the coming offensive by Lambert with the main force of the army. Disputes over the king would make defeat certain, but all could at least unite on a declaration in favour of a free Parliament.

Therefore Booth was naturally furious when he heard that some of the Lancashire insurgents had proclaimed Charles at Warrington, and later he rebuked Middleton for his open espousal of the king's cause.[3] The immediate importance of this split can be exaggerated; it had little bearing on the military situation, but the political implications were immense. Booth's statements of policy make it abundantly clear that his primary aim was to secure Presbyterian objectives; his arguments were calculated to appeal chiefly to his co-religionists. If these objectives were to be secured it was essential for the Presbyterians to gain control over Parliament so that conditions could be imposed upon the king before he returned. Moreover, to proclaim Charles at once would mean a fight to the finish against the regicides and doctrinaire republicans. A declaration for a free Parliament, and nothing more, might serve as a basis for negotiations with Lambert and other leaders, men who had already rejected royalist overtures. The Presbyterians might be convinced that the ultimate return of the king was inevitable and necessary, but they were clearly determined to entrench themselves in power before they recalled him.

In his speech at Rowton Heath,[4] in the letter which he sent out, and in his Declaration, Booth carefully omitted any reference to the king. It was not his business to bid for royalist support—it presumably would come in any case—his appeal was

[1] *CSP.* iii. 489-90; *Mordaunt*, pp. 17-18. Booth, among others, signed the report sent on 7 June to the king. [2] *Mordaunt*, p. 141.

[3] Clarke, iv. 38, 40. The report in a newsletter that Booth had consequently been deserted by most of his men is suspect as propaganda; there is no confirmation (Carte, *Letters*, ii. 196).

[4] Atkinson, pp. 164-5.

directed chiefly to disaffected former parliamentarians like himself. In the letter Booth cleared himself of the charge of rebellion and concentrated on the grievances from which all sections suffered.[1] He emphasized the heavy taxation and the corruption of the Rump. The members had complained that their dissolution by Cromwell in 1653 had been an act of violence; by their continued refusal to admit the excluded members—of whom Booth was one—they convicted themselves of the same crime. Booth therefore declared for a free Parliament. However he was willing, if it would avoid the need for fighting, to accept the Long Parliament on condition that the old, that is the Presbyterian, members were restored. Thus he would restore the position of 1648, and with it Presbyterian predominance, as the preliminary to the return of the king.

The Declaration had a wider appeal than the letter and was couched in more stirring language as a call to arms.[2] Again he concentrated on grievances, justifying the recourse to force as necessary for the maintenance of the freedom of Parliaments. Subverted by the usurpation of the Rump and the ambition of the superior officers, without this freedom there could never be any settled foundation for religion, liberty and property. Declaring himself satisfied that he had the blessing of God, and the "cheerful concurrence" of the people, Booth made a bid for still more valuable temporal support. Somewhat inconsistently with his complaints against heavy taxation, he offered not only arrears but an increase of pay, and future promotion, to what he termed "the undeceived part of the Army", that is, those who might be induced to desert.

Although this, like the proposal to restore the Long Parliament, could not be very acceptable to the royalists, Booth's policy fulfilled its purpose. He received the support of almost all the gentry and nobility, Presbyterian and Anglican, both those who had been parliamentarians and old cavaliers.[3] All

[1] Atkinson, pp. 185-6. 2 August.

[2] Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 572. "The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen and citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen, in this once happy Nation."

[3] Among the royalists, the Earl of Derby, Lord Kilmorey, Colonel John Daniel and Cholmondeley of Vale Royal. The parliamentarians included Cotton of Cotton, Colonel Henry Brooks and Peter Brooke, M.P.

recognized him as leader, even the Earl of Derby accepting a subordinate position. The insurgents included men who had formerly been the bitterest enemies; for instance, both members of the cavalier bench and grand jury of 1643, and the parliamentarian leaders whom they had indicted of high treason.[1] About a third of those who were subsequently listed as prisoners appear on Whitley's list of royalist officers.[2] The leader of the contingent from North Wales, Middleton, came from a staunch parliamentarian family, but the area provided him with mainly royalist followers. The very mixed composition of the insurgents did not materially contribute to the failure of the rising, doomed in any case by its isolation, but it certainly would have been a different matter had Booth achieved any permanent measure of success. Political considerations did, however, weaken it in one respect. Booth, the only possible leader on whom all could agree, had few claims to military qualities. Political necessity led him to open his council of war to any gentleman who cared to attend,[3] and some of those who received commissions showed their incompetence even during the brief campaign. It is unlikely that even a stronger figure than Booth could have held out for any length of time, but he hastened his defeat by one serious error. Chester welcomed him, but no attempt was made to storm the castle, which was weakly garrisoned and poorly provisioned. The blockade established did not prevent the commander sending and receiving messages; had he not learnt of Lambert's approach he might have been induced to surrender.[4]

Booth could do nothing to prevent his position deteriorating as the enemy forces concentrated against him. A vigorous offensive would mean exposing a flank and dispersing his army. Substantial reinforcements crossed from Ireland to Beaumaris.[5] The cavalry troops from the northern counties assembled out of reach of his forces before closing in. Despite incessant rain and men who were at first mutinous from lack of pay, Lambert

[1] Atkinson, pp. 146-62.
[2] *Mercurius Politicus*, 7 September, quoted in Ormerod, ii. xli.
[3] Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 199. [4] Carte, *Life*, ii. 185.
[5] Clarke, iv. 45; *CSPD. 1659-60*, pp. 54, 73.

moved north with little delay.[1] No hopes of relief existed for Booth. Massey was a fugitive; a second attempt to raise a force by Mordaunt came to nothing.[2] The king, having heard of the failures elsewhere, moved from Calais to St. Malo in preparation to join Booth, only to learn of his defeat as he was ready to sail.[3] Had Charles set out his chances of getting through would have been slight. From 15 August republican ships blockaded the Dee, and all the Welsh ports remained firmly in their hands.[4]

Faced with imminent defeat, Booth attempted to negotiate with Lambert, which he could not have done had the king been proclaimed.[5] He wrote expressing his surprise that Lambert should approach with an army, seeing that he had declared for nothing more than a free Parliament so that an accommodation could be arranged. Lambert's ambitions made this approach futile; by suppressing the insurrection his own prestige and power would be increased. He replied that he had been ordered to force the rebels to submission, and that only by laying down their arms could bloodshed be prevented. A second approach by some Presbyterian ministers not only proved equally futile but, so far from gaining time for Booth to concentrate his forces, persuaded Lambert that his enemies were desperately afraid.[6] Accordingly he advanced and on 18 August nearly surprised Booth's forces, which had neglected to post adequate scouts. Had it not been for a rapid decision by Whitley, they would have been routed on the spot. But though the insurgents managed to withdraw in good order, they enjoyed only a brief reprieve.[7]

On 19 August Lambert drove back Booth's outposts as far as Winnington bridge over the Weaver, near Northwich. Before a determined cavalry charge the insurgents melted away after a skirmish of a most perfunctory sort. The infantry managed to escape through the enclosured land near the river, but in their

[1] Atkinson, p. 168; *CSP. Venetian, 1659-61*, p. 56.
[2] *CSP.* iii. 559. [3] *CSP.* iii. 560.
[4] *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 133. In addition the Duke of York was on the point of invading Kent with forces supplied to him unofficially by Turenne, when he too heard of the news of Booth's defeat.
[5] Whitelock, *Memorials*, iv. 358; *CSPD. 1659-60*, p. 136.
[6] Clarke, iv. 45. [7] Atkinson, p. 168.

flight many of the cavalry were captured. Lambert had only one man killed, and Booth's casualties were not much greater. Small bodies of men escaped from the field only to be rounded up in the next few days. Chester surrendered without resistance; defence was made impossible by the ruinous condition of the walls. Belatedly Liverpool declared for Lambert. Many prisoners were taken by the country people, or gave themselves up voluntarily. Chirk Castle capitulated without a fight. With the exception of Whitley, who, as the only surviving eye-witness, was subsequently sent by Mordaunt to the king with his report, every notable was taken. For a time Booth evaded capture, but his detection at Newport Pagnall dressed as a woman (who apparently needed a razor and so aroused the inn-keeper's suspicions) added a final touch of farce to the whole sorry business.[1]

* * * * * * *

The suppression of the rising did not lead to harsh or general punishments. Most of the minor prisoners soon regained their freedom, none of the leaders was brought to trial. Their estates escaped confiscation. The collapse of Mordaunt's plans did not discourage him or strengthen the government. By the time Monk reached London, early in 1660, the Presbyterians were in a position to assist him, to gain control of the militia, and subsequently of the Council of State. By that time even Booth had been freed; he went as one of the parliamentary commissioners to Breda. At first sight, then, his failure had little importance; at most the Restoration was postponed a few months. Even if he had succeeded it is doubtful whether he and his Presbyterian associates would have displayed sufficient political skill to have imposed conditions on the king and so secured the permanent predominance of their party.

Nevertheless Booth's failure had political repercussions which lasted for more than a generation. Success would have given him the importance which fell to Monk in 1660, and men like Whitley would also have profited. When the Restoration actually occurred Booth and his friends, although not unrewarded,

[1] Atkinson, pp. 169-70, 173-6; Clarke, iv.46-7, 293; *CSPD. 1659-60*, pp. 136, 147.

were only one group with no particular claims to distinguish them from all the other supplicants for offices, pensions and dignities. Their initial disappointment, coupled with increasing distaste for the policy of the king after 1661, and with the local predominance of the Derby family, led them to the support of the "country" party in the Cavalier Parliament. In Booth's group, before and after the Restoration, is to be found the origin and nucleus of the first Whig interest in the north west.

Booth, created Lord Delamere, became comparatively inactive in his old age; the lead passed to his able and courageous son, Henry Booth, later the first Earl of Warrington. Like his father, he showed himself sympathetic to presbyterianism and determined to defend the liberties of the subject, now against the attempts of the Stuarts to subvert them. At elections and in Parliament Booth spoke strongly for the exclusion of the Duke of York; unlike most Whigs he did not confine himself to words, but showed himself ready to take up arms if necessary. Dunham Massey, where the plans had been prepared in 1659, became the centre of conspiracy twice again. In 1685, alone among the Whig magnates, Booth tried to aid Monmouth by organizing a diversionary rising. Prevented by Monmouth's early defeat and the precautions taken by the government, he was fortunate to be acquitted on a charge of treason. But undeterred by his narrow escape, Booth took the lead in 1688, and this time with success.

The Revolution brought Booth promotion in the peerage, but in more important matters it was an illusory triumph. His old Whig principles, his intransigence and determination, ill-suited him for the Court intrigues and opportunistic politics of the reign of William III. But he and his followers, like Whitley, did at last achieve a local predominance over their rivals, which in that century was often as satisfying as success in national politics.

THE COLLECTION FOR THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND, 1649-1660

By WILLIAM KELLAWAY, M.A.

TO convert the Indians was an avowed aim of English colonial expansion from the early years of Elizabeth's reign onwards. Much ink and many words were spent on the subject in the literature of colonial propaganda, but the words seldom led to actions. In 1649, however, there was one real achievement: the founding of the Society for propagation of the Gospel in New England, a Society still functioning today under the name of the New England Company.[1] It is the purpose of the following article to show the way in which the Society collected its initial funds, and to examine the response to the appeal made for money to convert the Indians in New England.

The Society was created by an ordinance of 27 July 1649, entitled "An Act for promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England",[2] which provided that sixteen persons, who were named, were to form a self-perpetuating corporation in England with the right to purchase or acquire lands, tenements or hereditaments not exceeding the yearly value of £2,000. The purpose of the Society was to collect funds which would be administered in New England by the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The Commissioners were, in the terms of the ordinance, to disburse the funds "in such manner as shall best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Natives, and also for maintaining of Schools and Nurseries of Learning, for the better education of the children of the Natives".

The ordinance, in order to facilitate the initial raising of funds, enacted that "a general Collection be made for the purposes aforesaid, in and through all the Counties, Cities, Towns and

[1] The writer is engaged upon a study of the New England Company during the American period of its history.

[2] C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London, 1911), ii. 197-200.

Parishes of England and Wales ". Ministers were ordered to read the ordinance in the presence of their congregations " and to exhort the people to a chearful and liberal contribution ". It was unusual for a collection to be initiated by Act of Parliament instead of by a brief. Even more remarkable was the fact that, to this collection, no time limit was set ; most collections of this period or, indeed, of any period, were confined to a particular day ; the Society busied itself with this collection, not for a day, but for a decade.

Churchwardens, overseers of the poor, or someone appointed by the minister were " with all convenient speed ", after the reading of the ordinance, to go " from house to house, to every of the Inhabitants of the said Parishes . . . to take the subscription of every such person ". These subscriptions were to be listed and a duplicate list together with the money collected were to be sent to the treasurers of the county—" persons of quality " appointed by the Society under its common seal. The ordinance, with considerable care for detail, ordered that the names " of such respective Treasurers shall be notified in writing to every place wheresoever such Collection is to be made ", and further stated that the treasurer's receipt would be sufficient discharge for the ministers and the collectors in the parish.

The promotion literature associated with this collection was considerable. Even before the ordinance was passed four tracts had appeared devoted to the Indians. The first of these was *New England's first fruits. . .* (1643), the first part of which dealt with the conversion of sundry Indians. The second was entitled *The Day-breaking if not the Sun-rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England . . .* (1647). This anonymous tract related the beginnings of the work of John Eliot, " Apostle to the Indians ". The third tract was written by one of the most distinguished preachers in New England, Thomas Shepard, and was entitled *The Clear sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England . . .* (1648). Whereas the second tract had made little appeal for funds, the third was aimed at all potential benefactors, and appealed for assistance to merchants, ministers, and all " the Godly and well affected of this Kingdome of England ". The fourth tract, which consisted largely of

letters from Eliot, describing his work, was published by Edward Winslow and entitled *The Glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England* . . . (1649). This tract, like its predecessors, gave a detailed account of the needs of the Indians, the most immediate of which were schools, food and clothing for the children of the natives, and tools and implements to give employment to their parents. An appendix, signed J. D.,[1] urged masters of money to part with their gold and promised: " If you give any thing *yearly*, remember Christ will be your *Pensioner*. If you give any thing into *banke*, Christ will keep *account* thereof, and reward it." [2]

These tracts were largely instrumental in drawing Parliament's attention to the question of the Indians' conversion. The sentiments contained in them were incorporated in the preamble to the ordinance. As the ordinance was to be read to all the congregations of England and Wales the appeal made in the preamble was of some importance to the collection's success. It stated that, on good authority, it was known " that some Godly English of this Nation " were preaching to the Indians in the Indian language. As a result of this work the Indians were becoming civilized, forsaking their own Gods and calling upon the name of the Lord, sending their children to English schools, putting away all wives but one, and praying to God morning and evening in their families. The preamble thanked God for this beginning but added that the work could not be carried on without encouragement. It pointed out that the English in New England, although willing, were unable to supply this encouragement, having exhausted their resources in founding towns and colonies in the wilderness. For this reason, the preamble concluded, it was incumbent upon England to further " a work, so much tending to the honor of Almighty God ".

The Society had a large number of copies of the ordinance printed for circulation to ministers, with the added note in italics that any one could see the Society's accounts if they

[1] This may have been John Downham who signed the dedications of *The Clear sun-shine of the Gospel*, or it may have been John Dury (or Durie) who was interested in the Indians' conversion.

[2] Op. cit. p. 27.

repaired to the Coopers' Hall in London, where the Society met.[1] Together with the ordinance, the Society sent to each treasurer a stock of printed copies of two letters, one from Oxford University and one from Cambridge University.[2] The former was addressed: "To our Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Gospel in England and Wales" and dated 22 October 1649. It was signed, "in the name and by the Authority of the Delegates of the University of *Oxford* [by] *Ed: Reynolds* Vicecan: Oxon." The Cambridge letter, like the one from Oxford, was printed on a single small folio leaf and was addressed: "To our Reverend and deare Brethren the Ministers of England and Wales" and dated 24 October 1649; it bears twelve signatures.[3] Both letters were written at the Society's request and, as each made a number of the same points in strikingly similar words, it seems likely that the Society's letter gave the Universities clear instructions as to what they should say. For example, the Cambridge letter ran: "... *wee are earnestly sollicited to put our helping hands to* a work so purely Christian (*as their Letter to us stiles it*) and not at all engaged in the unhappy differences of these times." The Oxford letter ran: "*This* Worke *is represented to us, and wee doe in the like manner recommend it to you as a worke* purely Christian, *not at all relating to, or ingaged in the unhappy* differences *of these sad and discomposed times.*"

The Oxford letter reminded ministers of "*how many* precious Ministers, *and* zealous Christians *have been by the cruelty and* superstition (*which some mistooke for* piety) *of former times forced out of this Land*" who went to New England to enjoy liberty of conscience and to propagate the Gospel. It continued: "*wee are assured that God hath, beyond all expectation, crowned their faithfull endeavours for the propagation of the Gospel there, with glorious successe. They who were wilde and barbarous, are now civill and sociable.*" The project should be supported, the letter continued, because colonies were worthy enterprizes and schools

[1] One such copy is bound up with Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 934.

[2] The only copies found are at Worcester College, Oxford.

[3] Ant: Tuckney, *Procan.* John Arrowsmyth. William Spurstowe.
Richard Love. Benjamin Whichcot. La: Seaman.
Richard Minshull. Thomas Young. William Dell.
Thomas Hill. Samuel Bolton. Rich: Vines.

and universities should be encouraged there. "*Finally, wee are oblieged in point of* Charity *to take compassion on the deluded* Indians, *and our* Christian Brethren *in* New-England, *who have exhausted their Estates in this service, and are not able to carry on the worke to perfection, without some voluntary and liberall Contributions.*"

The Cambridge letter laid a similar emphasis upon the value of education but made its appeal a wider one: "*Surely as* men, *wee are all concerned in the welfare of mankinde; as* Christians *in the prosperity of the Church; as* Ministers *in the Conversion of soules; as* Academicks *in the advancement of learning; as* Englishmen *in seeking the good of those Plantations, the flourishing whereof, would be no small accession to the splendor and glory of this Nation.*" It also made the appeal which from the days of Elizabeth had been a commonplace and a popular one: "Jesuites *at this day refuse not to compasse Sea Land and, for spreading* of Popery: *shall* Christianity, *shall* Protestantisme *finde fewer Zelots set on worke for their propagation? God forbid.*" It finally urged that "*the highest use that money can be put unto, is the furtherance of Religion, and the best way of gaining by it, is to lend it upon usury to the Lord.*"

The ordinance and the Oxford and Cambridge letters formed the basic publicity material used by the Society. But, in addition, a number of tracts were issued similar to Winslow's *Glorious progress of the Gospel.* In 1651 Henry Whitfield published *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day*, and in the following year, *Strength out of weakness; or a glorious manifestation of the further progress of the Gospel among the Indians.* In 1653 John Eliot's and Thomas Mayhew's *Tears of repentance* appeared, and in 1655, 1659 and 1660 further tracts by Eliot were published. All of these tracts were very similar in content and purpose. All described the missionary endeavours of Eliot and a few others and all aimed to stimulate potential subscribers. These tracts were not sent to all ministers although many must have received copies of one or other of them.

In 1649 the Society approached the Provincial Assembly of London, presumably in order to obtain a letter from that body similar to those from Oxford and Cambridge Universities. On

27 December 1649, the Assembly ordered that the matter should be referred to the Grand Committee and on 21 January 1649/50 the Assembly ordered more specifically " that it shall be referred to y^e^ Grand Committee to consider whether there shall bee a letter drawn up for the promoting the Businesse of New England and that y^e^ Report be given in in writing to y^e^ Province ".[1] However, as the matter was not mentioned again in the Assembly's Record Book and as no such letter appears to have survived, it is probable that the Grand Committee refused to take any action.

The Society was more successful—indeed, most fortunate—when, about three years after the letters from the universities were penned, it secured the support of Cromwell. It seems that he signed a letter in the latter part of 1652 or early in 1653, supporting the Society's work and encouraging contributions for the Indians' conversion. The Commissioners of the United Colonies, answering a letter from Edward Winslow dated 2 May 1653, wrote : " Wee are glad to heare of the Religious care which the Right honorable the Lord Generall Evidences in soe promoteing the service of Christ in publishing the Gospell amongst these poore heathens whoe have soe long sate in darkness." [2] A more specific reference was made in a letter, dated 2 August 1653, from Sir Richard Onslow, county treasurer for Surrey, acknowledging " the printed letters signed by my Lord Generall " which he had read at Quarter Sessions and then " caused every high Constable to take a proportionable number of them to disperse to the severall parishes ". [3] There must have been a considerable number of these letters printed but it has not been possible, as yet, to find a copy.[4]

The Society did not neglect to seek the support of municipal corporations. For example, Edward Winslow requested the

[1] Sion College. Provincial Assembly of London, *Record Book, 1648-1660.*

[2] *Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*, ed. David Pulsifer (*Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, X, Boston, 1859), ii. 105.

[3] Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 934, fol. 67.

[4] Eliot's and Mayhew's *Tears of repentance. . . 1653*, is dedicated to Cromwell. This dedication, dated 26 March 1653, refers to " that liberal and Exemplary Contribution to this Glorious Work lately promoted by Your Lordship, and Your Officers with the Army . . .".

Court of Aldermen in London to foster the cause. The Court recommended it "to every Minister within this Cittie and Liberties thereof".[1] The Court also ordered a precept to be drawn up and issued "in the name of the Lord Maior to the Aldermen Deputy and Common Councellmen of the . . . severall Wards, to further the Contribution for advance of the Gospell in New England with their best Assistance." It is not known how much was collected in the wards, but the President wrote to the Deputies in each ward, thanking them for their pains in furthering the collection and asking them to forward the money collected to the treasurer.[2] Similar action was taken with other towns: the Society's Court enquired the name of the Mayor of Chichester "y^{t} a letter might bee sent unto him and y^{e} Aldermen".[3] In fact the Society was tireless in writing letters to the County treasurers and in writing letters of thanks for contributions.

Above all, of course, the ministers themselves had to be briefed, for it was upon them that the ultimate success or failure of the collection rested, as the Society fully realized: it spared no pains in briefing them. The clergy's attitude to the collection varied enormously but the response of Henry Newcome, minister of Gawsworth, Cheshire, in 1652/3, is so delightful that it is worth quoting in full:[4]

> There came now orders for a collection for the Indians. A large narrative came with it, and letters, well penned, from both the universities. I was taken with the design; and receiving but the papers on Saturday morning, turned off my ordinary subject and preached two sermons purposely, about Feb. 27th, on 1 Chr. xxix. 3. And the Lord did humble me mightily after evening sermon when I called up the people to subscribe, and they did it so slenderly and acted in it as if I had not said one word about it. But afterwards the Lord moved upon some of them to help me; and I went up and down from house to house, and making every servant and child that had anything to give, I raised it to a pretty sum for that little place, seven pound odd money.

[1] Corporation of London, *Repertory*, 60, fol. 238.

[2] Ibid. 61, fols. 75^{v}-76. Copy of the President's letter: Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 934, fol. 3.

[3] The Society's Minutes, 28 May 1659. Printed by G. P. Winship, *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot* . . . (Boston, Prince Society, 1920), p. 54.

[4] *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome* . . . (Chetham Society, 1852, 1st series, XXVI), p. 43.

But the story did not always turn out so happily. Richard Bigge, minister of Winterborne Dauntsey, wrote to William Cooke, treasurer for the county of Wiltshire on 21 May 1653 :[1]

My service I have accordinge to y^e^ order sent me, publikly in the Church in the parish of Winterborne Dantsy read y^r^ bookes and papers. Sir, of my selfe I am not able any way to promote soe religiouse a worke having but thirty shilling yearely settled on me for my cure. I went with both y^e^ Churchwardens and desyred gratuityes at every mans house ; but could force noe man nor persuade any man or woman to be soe charitable as to give one peny. Thus with my love to you & y^r^ wife having I hope discharged my duty I rest

Yours in all Christian
Love and Service
Rich. Bigge.

The size of the contributions made by individuals is difficult to estimate but, from the few returns which have survived, average contributions seem to have been very small. For example, of the fifty contributors to the sum of £2 4*s*. 6*d*. collected in Winterslow, Wiltshire, thirty-five gave sums of less than sixpence. In Walberton, Sussex, twenty-one people contributed a total of 13*s*. 7*d*. At Plaitford, Wiltshire, eight people gave 3*s*. 5*d*. between them, Samuel Tarrant, curate, heading the list with sixpence. Sometimes it is possible to see that the door to door collection was taken up before the collection in the church. At Salehurst, Sussex, £1 6*s*. 2*d*. was collected from door to door and " more in the after noone in y^e^ body of y^e^ Church uppon second motion July 16, 1654 y^e^ summe of 01 . 06 . 06 ".[2]

But the project, like all projects for the collection of money, was fraught with difficulties ; opposition to the collections was encountered on all sides. In order to understand this opposition fully, it is necessary to see what efforts had been made to collect money before the Society began its work.

Money to convert the Indians—the appeal was not a new one. In 1617 James I had issued a brief for erecting in Virginia " some Churches and Schooles for the educating of the children of those barbarians ". By May 1619, Sir Edwin Sandys reported to the General Court of the Virginia Company that £1,500 had been raised. This money was invested and the interest was never put

[1] Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 934, fol. 72. [2] Ibid. fols. 52, 54, 59, 61.

to the uses intended.[1] Less honestly, the conversion of the Indians had usually formed part of the campaigning material of colonial promoters who wished to stimulate investment in their ventures.

The General Court of Massachusetts itself campaigned. In 1641 it had sent Hugh Peter and Thomas Weld to England with the object of collecting funds for the struggling colony. In 1642 they collected almost £875 for the transportation of poor children to New England. In the following year they had printed a small tract entitled *New England's first fruits* . . . which was intended to stimulate generosity. The first part of the tract recounted sundry remarkable Indian conversions while the second dealt with the college at Cambridge. The tract bore little fruit and potential benefactors were apparently unimpressed. It did yield about £300 for the college, but the Indians' cause only produced an annuity of £20, the gift of Lady Armine, and a further £12 10*s*.[2]

These earlier attempts to collect money on behalf of the Indians caused the Society for Propagation of the Gospel some embarrassment when it began its work. The activities of Weld and Peter were a particular embarrassment. As early as 1646, a whisper went round that the money collected by them had been misapplied, and Presbyterians were quick to seize so convenient a stick with which to beat the New England Independents. In fact the money collected by Weld and Peter had been misapplied, but not by them. The scheme for the transportation of poor children had been unsuccessful, but Weld's accounts were genuine enough by contemporary standards. The difficulty was that they did not show the way in which the money was disbursed in New England, and it was there that the money was misapplied. For example, of the £200 sent for the care of poor children, £150 went towards a new house for President Dunster and £50 for the travelling expenses of John Winthrop, Jr. Part of the money for the college was spent in other ways, and Lady Armine's

[1] S. E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 411-14.

[2] R. P. Stearns, *The Weld-Peter mission to England* (in Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions*, XXXII, 1937), pp. 219-20.

annuity of £20 for the conversion of the Indians was not put to its proper use until 1647.[1]

Weld's and Peter's Presbyterian opponents probably did not know how the money was spent in New England, but ignorance gave even greater opportunity for innuendo. Weld submitted his accounts under oath to a Parliamentary committee on 4 February 1645/6. Soon after this he placed an advertisement in a newspaper announcing that the accounts would be on view for all to see at John Pocock's shop in Watling Street.[2] In 1649 Edward Winslow, agent for Massachusetts, and one of the most active members of the Society, wrote to Weld telling him that " divers ministers (who used to meet at Sion Colledge) " were slow in furthering the collection of funds " because they *were unsatisfied in monies they had formerly Collected for transporting children to New England* and never knew how it was disposed, and some went further, in blaming those that had been agents in that worke ".[3] Weld replied to this letter on 2 January 1649 50 and, at about the same time, must have written a tract entitled : " Innocency cleared conteining A just defence of Mr Weld & Mr Peters. . . . To silence the malitious, to satisfie the sober & to remove the obstruction of y^e^ contribution for propagating the Gospell to y^e^ Natives in New England. Written by Tho : Weld &." In spite of liberal biblical quotation, an explanation of his actions as agent, and a restatement of his accounts, " Innocency cleared " did not achieve its purpose : the Society did not even consider it worth printing. Weld concluded the tract with these words : ' (This stone of offence being now rowled away) there may be no obstruction, either in good peoples contributeing or in godly ministers exciting their people to contribute freely to this glorious worke." [4] However, " this Old Objection ", as Weld called it, continued to hinder the collections. The basic problem remained the same—Weld was unable to show what had become of the money after it had left his hands.

[1] R. P. Stearns, *The Weld-Peter mission to England* (in Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions*, XXXII, 1937), pp. 215 and 242.

[2] Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 934, fol. 26^v^. [3] Ibid. fols. 26^v^-27.

[4] Ibid. fol. 30^v^. *Innocency cleared* is printed in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1882), xxxvi. 64-70.

Some time during 1647 he had sent his accounts to the General Court of Massachusetts for auditing, and in the same year Ezekiel Rogers wrote to John Winthrop begging him to see that the Court attend to the matter quickly.[1] Nothing, however, was done until the Society wrote, in April 1651, asking for an audited copy of Weld's accounts, which was, in due course, supplied by the General Court. The Society also asked the Commissioners of the United Colonies to account for the disbursal of " those ancient gifts ".[2] The Commissioners replied in September 1651 explaining that the money had been spent in " foundation worke " and that to supply an account was impossible because, of those responsible for disbursing " the ancient gifts ", some were dead and others had gone away.[3] Consequently, the Society had to carry out its work in the face of " this Old Objection " and without any opportunity of producing an answer to satisfy its critics.

Apart from the legacy of Weld's and Peter's efforts, the Society had to cope with the insinuations of those opposed to New England and opposed to any such collection. A verse of contemporary satire ran :[4]

> Stay not amongst the wicked
> Lest that with them you perish
> But let us to New England goe
> And the Pagan people cherish.

In April 1651 Winslow wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies explaining objections raised to the Society's work in England : it was often argued that there was a greater need to foster education at home than abroad and he added, " our levelers they will have nothing to doe to promote humaine learning, there is to much of it allready ".[5]

To all its critics the Society could only answer in the most general terms. Henry Whitfield, in the dedication of *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day* (1651) explained

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd series, i. 26.

[2] *Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*, i. 193. [3] Ibid. i. 195.

[4] Bodleian MS. Ashmole 36, fol. 100. Quoted by C. M. Andrews and F. G. Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript materials for the History of the United States to 1783* . . . (Washington, D.C., 1908), p. 377.

[5] *Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*, i. 197.

the purpose of the tract as showing " How the Lord carrieth on his work there " and " to remove such false surmises and aspersions suggested to retard the work ". To those who questioned New England's " affections towards Parliament ", he asserted that both the rulers and the people of New England were " faithful and cordial " to it. " Others endeavour more directly to prejudice the work, by suggesting that the charity of the well-affected hath been abused, in that there is no such work, or that there is a greater noise made of it in the world than there is cause." To this Whitfield answered that no business could be carried out with greater truth and that he had seen the accounts and that they were ready to be shown to Parliament " if need require ".

John Eliot, himself, although " the principal instrument " in the Indians' conversion, caused the Society considerable difficulties. In the first place, Eliot was a master of the begging letter. Before the Society was founded he had solicited assistance which was sent to him direct, and after 1649 he saw no reason for discontinuing his efforts in this direction. This resulted in a number of private collections which were a constant irritation both to the Society and to the Commissioners of the United Colonies. Edward Winslow, in a letter dated 5 April 1652, expressed this irritation when he wrote : [1]

> Wee are very much troubled by pryvate collections sent by Mr Butcher and procured by him to the greate prejudice of the worke, wee endeavoringe to purchase lands of inheritance and to mayneteyne the worke with the revenue, hee sendinge over what hee getts, and wee knowe not but by accident what hee sends nor to whome, soe that wee are like to bee att noe certayntyes.

But Eliot caused even greater grounds for anxiety by writing to friends in England complaining that he received only £20 a year from the Commissioners, with the result that he was constantly in debt and was unable to give his children the education they deserved. Hugh Peter, who had never been very sympathetic towards the conversion of the Indians,[2] seized upon this information to attack the whole project and even told Winslow " in plaine tearmes hee heard the worke was but a plaine Cheat and that there was noe such thinge as Gospell conversion amongst

[1] Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 934, fol. 16.

[2] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th series, vi. 116.

the Indians". The Society was particularly concerned at Peter's reaction because he had been a member of a committee in the army for the promotion of the work, although he had "protested against contributinge a peny towards it in his person". The Society, in writing to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, told them that the news that Eliot was receiving only £20 a year "flyeth like lightening and takes like tinder, men being extream glad to meet with any thing that may Couller over theire Covetiousness and dull theire Zeale in soe good a worke". The Society believed the work would "suffer some thousands of pounds by it".[1] However, the Commissioners of the United Colonies, although justifying themselves in their previous conduct, did double the salaries of both Eliot and Mayhew.

Although from the meagre records which have survived, it appears that the Society's integrity was without blemish, Englishmen in the 1650's were accustomed to fraudulent collections and suspicion came to them naturally. On 9 September 1653 Parliament took up the question of fraudulent collections and ordered that it be referred to the Council of State "as well for the suppressing of such as are now on Foot, as for preventing the like Abuses, and Deceit of the People, for the future".[2]

On 17 July 1655 the Council of State ordered the Society to take the most effective means at its disposal to recover money still in the hands of collectors and to explain the reasons for the delay in the Society's collections. The Society was further ordered to make a return of all the money collected, how it had been disposed of, and how its growing revenues were employed.[3]

The explanation given by the Society together with the return are of considerable interest in the light they throw upon the collection and the Society's work before the Restoration. As these documents have recently come to light amongst the archives of the New England Company and are hitherto unpublished it seems worth printing the text of each in full.[4]

[1] *Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*, ii. 118.

[2] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vii. 316.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series, 1574-1660*, p. 426. (P.R.O. SP 25/76, 185.)

[4] Guildhall Library MS. 7943.

To his Highnes Oliver Lord Protector of y^e^ Common wealth of England, Scotland & Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

Wee the President and Societie appointed by Act of Parliament for propagation of the Gospell of Jesus Christ in New England, Being by an Order of yo^r^ Highnes Councell, bearing date the Seaventeenth day of July last, to take care, and use the most effectuall meanes for getting in the severall Summes, Collected for the *severall*[1] ends aforesaid, and to Certifie by what occasion the paying in thereof hath been retarded, In obedience thereunto, Doe humbly Certifie; That the Collections and Payments, for the purposes aforesaid, have beene retarded partly from the difficulty of finding out meete and fitt Instruments to carrye on the worke in the respective Citties and Counties, and partly for want of zeale and activitie in the Ministers of many places, to publish and stirr up the people thereunto; By meanes whereof, the said Colleccions have beene much hindred, And alsoe y^e^ Moneys that have beene Collected (through the remisnesse of some, & dissatisfaccion of other of the Treasurers and Collectors (though Wee used o^r^ utmost endeavours to make use of the fittest persons therein) have not beene returned as they ought According to the Instructions sent them, w^ch^ said Instructions Wee herew^th^ humbly present By occasion whereof after many endeavours used by us, Wee found it requisite to send and imploy, And have accordingly sent and imployed an Agent into severall Counties, where the said Act, together with Letters from y^e^ heads of both y^e^ Universities had beene published, Aswell to stirr up the persons therein concerned formerly imployed by us, As alsoe to take an Accompt and see whether y^e^ Moneys Collected were paid in to y^e^ Treasurers, and whether the said Colleccions were perfected and to acquaint us therew^th^, and with the cause of any remissnes or delayes therein, w^ch^ course, upon experience Wee finde to bee the most effectuall way for Attainement of the Ends proposed; Haveing by this meanes discovered severall Summes, of Money in Treasurers and Collectors hands, And that there are divers Parishes, where noe Colleccions have beene yet made; And although this worke of God (intrusted in the hands of his unworthie Servants) hath mett with many reproaches and difficulties, yet, it hath pleased the Lord hitherto in some good measure to prosper it, and to encourage o^r^ hearts therein by improveing all such opportunities as Wee apprehended conduciable to the promoting thereof, accounting it a mercy and reward Sufficent (without haveing ever had, or expecting any *thing for profitt otherwise*[2] *allowance*[3] *Sallry for our panes*[4]) to bee exercised in soe blessed a worke; And whereas, Wee are by an Order of the same date required to Returne Accompt of all the Moneys Collected and returned to us for the uses aforesaid, and howe the same with the growing Revenues have beene imployed, In Obedience thereunto, Wee herewith present a briefe Accompt of All o^r^ Receipts Improvements and Disbursements the same being more particularly and distinctly Entred in o^r^ Bookes, readie to bee produced when Wee shalbee required thereunto; Makeing it o^r^ hearty and humble request, In a busines tending soe much to the Glory of God and Salvation of soe many poore naked Sonnes of Adam, that y^e^ due Execucion of what was required by Parliament in Order thereunto May alsoe, by some effect of your Highnes Authoritie & zeale to further such pious and Noble undertakings, bee promoted and incouraged by

[1] Deleted.
[2] Deleted.
[3] Superscription deleted.
[4] Superscription.

such Wayes and meanes, as to yo[r] Highnes care & pietie shalbee thought fitt and necessary. And w[ch] Neverthelesse Wee humbly submitt to yo[r] Highnes wisdome and Consideration.

Coopers Hall London.

y[e] 28th November 1655.

[Signed :]

Wm Steele president
Richard Floyde Treasurer

Edmond Wilson — Ri : Hutchinson

James Sherley

Tho Ayres — George Clarke

Abra : Babington

Joshua Woolnough — Wm Molins

Tho Speed — Ri Young

Tho Bell

[Endorsed :] Memorandum this Representacion w[th] the Accompts annexed, Act of Parlyament University letters Instruccions & L[d] Protectors [blank space] were *delivered*[1] presented to y[e] Rt Hon[ble] y[e] L[d] Lawrence president of the Councell, by Mr Rich[d] Floyde Mr Rich[d] Hutchinson & Mr Rich[d] Young the Eleaventh day of January 1655.

Receipts. An Acco[t] of such moneys as have byne Rec[d] by the Corporacion appointed by Act of Parliament *dat 27 July 1649*[2] for propagation of the Gospell of Jesus Christ in Newe England. *vizt*[3] from y[e] 7th *July*[4] *August*[5] 1649 to y[e] 3 of September 1655 vizt.

Contributions from	*li*	*s*	*d*
The Army	3054 :	18 :	03
London	1090 :	08 :	03½
Essex	0569 :	15 :	08
Middlesex	0447 :	15 :	08½
Kent	0624 :	19 :	09
Oxon	0155 :	05 :	10
Devon	0659 :	03 :	02
Warwick	0154 :	19 :	04
Cornwall	0401 :	01 :	07
Surrey	0353 :	18 :	09
Derby	0323 :	00 :	07
Somersett	0968 :	15 :	05
Wilts	0505 :	03 :	09
Hampton	0460 :	00 :	00
Suffolk	0769 :	10 :	07½
Berks	0166 :	11 :	00
Huntingdon	0044 :	04 :	05
Norffolke	0155 :	16 :	00
Worcester	0199 :	14 :	03
Bucks	0180 :	00 :	00

[1] Deleted. [2] Superscription. [3] Deleted.
[4] Deleted. [5] Superscription.

Contributions from—*continued*—	*li*	*s*	*d*
Sussex	0014:	19:	09
Yorke	0997:	07:	09
Chester	0013:	16:	08
Salop	0100:	00:	00
Personall Guifts	0983:	19:	01
Recd. of *Mr*[1] *Edward*[2] Cressett *Esq*[r] & *pd per contra*[3]	0200:	00:	00
Rents	0635:	00:	00
	14230:	05:	07½

Disbursments. An Acc[t] of moneys disbursed by y[e] Corporacion *Appointed by Act of Parliament*[4] for propagation of the Gospell of Jesus Christ in New England *for the purposes in ye said Act mencioned* (*Vizt*)[5] vizt from the 7th August 1649 to the 3 September 1655

	li	*s*	*d*
Paid for Goods brought and sent to New England severall yeares last past And for two Libraryes bought for y[e] use of the Ministers and others that nowe are, or hereafter shalbee, employed in preaching unto, or teaching y[e] Indians	01532:	15:	08
Paid for lands purchased att severall tymes and for Charges in Carrying on & perfecting the purchases and for moneys disbursed upon a Mortgage	10786:	10:	01
Paid by Bills of Exchange	00158:	00:	00
Paid for paper and printing severall Narratives concerning the progresse of the Gospell amongst the Indians in New England	00124:	05:	04
[Cancelled entry:] *pd*[6] *Mr*[7] *Edward Cressett Esq*[r] For Moneys deposited by *Mr Edward Cressett*[8] in the hands of y[e] Corporation for a certaine tyme & untill the Corporation could heare from Mr Chancey in New England *to Whome the said moneys were given by Mr Cecill*[9]	00200:	00:	00
Paid for Freight of Goods pay Books and other incident Charges	00236:	19:	02
Paid the Clerke and Messenger for their Salaryes, And to other Instruments employed to see y[e] Collections perfected and the moneys Collected thereupon returned	00395:	06:	00
Sum Totall disbursed	13433:	16:	03
Rem: in y[e] Treasurers hands	00796:	09:	04½
To Ballance y[e] Acco[t]	14230:	05:	07½

[Endorsed:] Representation & Acco[ts] presented by the Corporacion to his Highnes Councell att Whitehall 11th January 1655/6.

[1] Deleted. [2] Superscription. [3] Deleted. [4] Deleted. [5] Deleted. [6] Superscription. [7] Superscription deleted. [8] Deleted. [9] Superscription.

In April 1651 the Society had written to the Commissioners of the United Colonies telling them that the collection proceeded very slowly and that they foresaw " that it will be a long work ". By March 1653 the total amount collected was only £4,582. Of this total the Army had contributed about £511, London £961, Somerset was foremost of the counties with a contribution of almost £436, while personal gifts sent direct to the Treasurer amounted to about £861.[1] Thus it can be seen that the Society had considerable success in collecting money between March 1653 and September 1655 when the return was prepared for presentation to the Council of State. This may be explained at least in part by the support lent to the work by Oliver Cromwell.

However, the Council's order to hasten the collection was not easy to put into operation, for the difficulties outlined in the return continued to hinder the work. The Society's minutes bear ample testimony to these difficulties. Reliable treasurers in the counties were hard to find and when found they were liable to retain the money handed to them. Richard Lobb, treasurer for Devon, wrote explaining that the contribution of Falmouth would have been larger " if the fish in our County had not fayled as itt did " and added that another treasurer, Mr. Sampson Bond was " a notorious Insynuating Hypocrite " liable to cause money to " miscarry ".[2] Sometimes the Society had to send a messenger armed with a subpoena in order to recover the money; sometimes it was necessary to take legal advice, as when the Society ordered its clerk, John Hooper, " to repare unto Mr Wilsbee att Grayes Inn corner " to see what steps could be taken to recover money in Lincolnshire " in the handes of a Gent who refuseth to pay in the same ". On one other occasion the Society had to write a sharp note to one Mrs. Morgan, who was withholding money collected by her late husband.[3]

The farther from London the field of collection the greater was the difficulty of finding treasurers. This search for suitable

[1] G. P. Winship, *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot*. Apart from the minutes for the period 1655-86, this also contains the Society's earliest ledger from which the figures in this article are compiled. Both the minute book and the ledger are now in the United States. (See *Archives*, ii. no. 12, pp. 181-2.)

[2] Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C 934, fol. 22. [3] G. P. Winship, op. cit. p. 31.

treasurers continued throughout the decade 1650-60. Wales presented particular difficulties and although the Society considered the matter of promoting collections there, nothing was achieved. In November 1656, it made application to Whitehall for the names of suitable treasurers and nearly two years later it did find a Mr. Cox who was prepared to undertake the work, but apparently either Mr. Cox thought better of his offer or the Society thought better of Mr. Cox.[1]

Nor was it easy to find messengers competent to tour the counties, encouraging the collection and bringing in the money from those treasurers and ministers who were loath to part with it. These messengers were paid 30*s.* a week while on tour and were provided with a horse at the Society's expense. By 1658, however, the two messengers then in the Society's employ, Edward Ackworth and James Newman, were no longer satisfied with their pay but wished to receive 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound of all money collected. James Newman was the first to demand these terms; Edward Ackworth quickly followed suit. When the Society, in August 1658, ordered Ackworth to go into the counties of Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire to see what money still remained in collectors' hands, he consented to go and for his services was "contented to receive the summe of ij^{s} vj^{d} in y^{e} pound and not otherwise".[2]

The Society continued its efforts until the Restoration, but in 1660 its annual receipts from contributions were only £65. However, the total amount collected during the decade was £15,910 15s. 6½d. of which £1,241 19*s.* 1*d.* was personal gifts paid direct to the Treasurer.

It remains to say something of how the Society disbursed its funds during this period. £4,673 10*s.* 9*d.* was sent to New England. This was used for salaries of missionaries, amongst others, John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, for clothes and implements for the Indians and for printing the Bible in the Indian language, a work started before the Restoration. £11,957 15*s.* 4*d.* was invested in property in order that the Society might have a safe annual income. As early as April 1651 the Society planned investment "that soe the Prinsipall bee not

[1] Ibid. pp. 38-44. [2] Ibid. p. 43.

eat up as it comes but some Money bee layed out to purchase a standing Revenew ".[1] Indeed the purchase of property and the urgency for its purchase were used as arguments to encourage contributions. The cost of administration was considerable—£1,468 3*s.* 2*d.* This included the salaries of the clerk, messengers, the printing of the Indian tracts and other promotion literature as well as stationery and travel expenses.

At the Restoration, the Ordinance of 1649 became " null and void ". But a new charter dated 7 February 1661/2 was quickly procured through the influence of Henry Ashurst and Richard Baxter, and in due course the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, as it was renamed, regained the property which had belonged to " the late pretended corporation ". And until well into the eighteenth century the collections made during the Interregnum provided by far the largest part of the Company's income.

[1] *Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*, i. 194.

MARTYRS AND MARTYRDOM [1]

By T. W. MANSON, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A.
RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND EXEGESIS
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

THERE are two reasons why this subject should be interesting. One is philological and has to do with the meaning of the word. The other is eminently practical and has to do with the fact that this twentieth century of ours may turn out, when the church history of the period is written, to be one of the great ages of Christian martyrs. We do not yet know, and it is likely that we cannot know, the full extent of the sufferings of God's people; but we do know that they have been great. I believe that this century will show records of heroism and loyalty and endurance that can stand comparison with anything that was produced in the dark ages of Decius and Diocletian. I propose to begin with the philological side because I think it is not only intellectually interesting but also capable, if we study it carefully, of illuminating the great moral and religious issues. The primary connotation of the word 'martyr' nowadays is that of suffering. You may be a martyr *for* some cause. You may be a martyr for Christianity or Democracy or Fascism or Nazism. One of the most distinguished martyrs of Nazism was a particularly objectionable character called Horst Wessel, who had his place in the Nazi martyrology and his own particular hymn which was chanted with great fervour by his devotees. Or you may be a martyr for Communism or Nationalism or any other -ism. You may be a martyr *for* any of these things. On the other hand you may be a martyr *to* rheumatism or neuralgia. That is the odd thing because the Greek word μάρτυς, from which martyr is derived, contains no suggestion whatsoever of suffering. The Greek word μάρτυς means a 'witness', and the cognate noun μαρτυρία means 'testimony'; and there is no thought that pain may be involved. If I sit down and write a

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 14th of November, 1956.

testimonial to my secretary saying that she has given complete satisfaction in all her work up to date and that I can recommend her for any position of trust and responsibility, that is a μαρτυρία and when I write that I am in the old sense of the word a μάρτυς. There is no suffering involved. Now what we have to find out, if we can, is what is the bridge between that painless testimony and the confessional and eventually non-confessional pains and discomforts ; and where and when it was built. It needs only a quick look to see that this drastic change of meaning is a specifically Christian phenomenon ; that it is in the early church that the name μάρτυς, ' witness ', is given as a title to those who suffer for their religion. That change of meaning was already completed by the time of Origen in the first half of the third century. He used the word μάρτυς, as a religious term, in exactly the same way that we use the word ' martyr ', meaning by it ' one who of his own free choice chooses to die for the sake of religion '.[1] Similarly, martyrdom takes place when people, and again I quote, ' die for religion and prefer to die rather than deny their religion and live '.[2] Suffering and dying for one's religion is not peculiar to early Christianity. It was already present in the Old Testament and in early Judaism. The thing was there but the name was not used of it. Loyal Jews who laid down their lives in Old Testament times or in the period between the Testaments certainly died for their religion, but they were not at that time called martyrs nor was their death called martyrdom. By the time of Origen it had become perfectly possible and quite natural to use the words in this way and Origen does, in fact, call those who died in the Maccabean days martyrs and ranks them along with Christian martyrs. It is quite clear then that we have to do with a Christian use of the terms. It is also clear that by Origen's time that use had been so long established that μάρτυς meant simply one who openly stands up for the true religion at the cost of suffering or death to himself ; and there is apparently no urge to reflect on why the word should have been chosen or what it is of which the martyr is a witness. The change of meaning took place in the early Church but the preparation for it had begun much earlier and it can be traced in the

[1] *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, ch. 22. [2] Op. cit., ch. 5.

Old Testament and in the extra-canonical Jewish writings; and I think it is to these sources that we must look in the first instance for answers, even if they are only tentative answers, to three questions. I think that these are the key questions and I shall continue to ask them at successive stages in the survey which follows.

(1) Who are the witnesses?

(2) To what do they bear witness? and

(3) Are they persecuted for witnessing, and if so, why?

They are simple enough questions and I hope we may be able to find reasonable answers to them.

First, who are the witnesses? The answer may be found by considering the passages in the Old Testament where words meaning 'witness' or 'testimony' or 'testify' are used in contexts in which the testimony given is religious testimony and the person giving the testimony is therefore involved in unmerited suffering inflicted by his fellows. In this connection we have a most instructive text in the book of Nehemiah.[1] To see the full force of it we must read the immediate context as well. In chapter eight there is a description of how the Law of Moses had been promulgated by Ezra the Scribe and of the joyful celebrations which followed this event. These celebrations included the holding of the Feast of Tabernacles. Later on, in the same seventh month of the year, on the twenty-fourth day of the month, a solemn fast was observed, in the course of which Ezra uttered a prayer of confession. In that prayer he detailed all that God had done for Israel from the earliest times down to the settlement in the Promised Land. That occupies chapter nine verses 7 to 25. The text continues in verse 26, 'Nevertheless they', that is the Israelites, 'were disobedient and rebelled against thee and cast thy law behind their back and killed thy prophets, who had testified against them[2] in order to turn them back to thee, and they committed great blasphemies'. I think this is a particularly instructive passage because the prophets are here clearly regarded as God's witnesses, and they give their testimony to Israel at the cost of their lives. That is to say the true and faithful witnesses for God are a small and persecuted minority

[1] ix. 26.

[2] הַעִידוּ בָם; *διεμαρτύραντο ἐν αὐτοῖς.*

within Israel. But there is another picture, and a rosier one, which is presented in Deutero-Isaiah. Here Israel as a whole, God's servant and chosen people, are regarded as witnesses. Thus in Isaiah xliii. 8-12 as given in the R.S.V. :

' Bring forth the people who are blind, yet have eyes, who are deaf, yet have ears !
Let all the nations gather together, and let the peoples assemble.
Who among them can declare this, and show us the former things ?
Let them bring their witnesses to justify them, and let them hear and say,
It is true.
You are my witnesses ', says the Lord, ' and my servant whom I have chosen,
that you may know and believe me and understand that I am He.
Before me no god was formed, nor shall there be any after me.
I, I am the Lord, and besides me there is no saviour.
I declared and saved and proclaimed, when there was no strange god among you ;
and you are my witnesses ', says the Lord.

And again in xliv. 6-8 :

Thus says the Lord, the King of Israel and his Redeemer, the Lord of hosts :
' I am the first and I am the last ; besides me there is no god.
Who is like me ? Let him proclaim it, let him declare and set it forth before me.
Who has announced from of old the things to come ?
Let them tell us what is yet to be.
Fear not, nor be afraid ; have I not told you from of old and declared it ?
And you are my witnesses !
Is there a God besides me ?
There is no Rock ; I know not any.'

Here it is God's people as a whole who are his witnesses. In the prophet's vision they have become the fulfilment of the longing of Moses himself when he cried ' Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets '.

The answer to our first question is that those who bear witness are in the first instance the prophets of Israel, and secondarily those in Israel who through hard experience learn the truth of the prophetic message and accept it as from God. ' Have I not told you from of old and declared it ? And you are my witnesses ! '

That brings us to the second question. ' Have I not told you from of old and declared *it* ? ' What is ' it ' ? To what do the prophets and their disciples bear witness ? What is the content of their testimony ? There are in the first instance two possibilities : first, the testimony might be a report to God about

Israel: and particularly about the misdeeds of Israel; for example, Elijah's report to God at Horeb,

> The people of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away. [1]

But it quickly appears that God has no need of this kind of testimony; he is already better informed than Elijah about the state of religion and public morals in Israel. So we turn to the second possibility: that the prophetic testimony is a report to Israel about God's actions and intentions; and this seems to me the most likely interpretation and the one that corresponds most nearly to the normal practice of the true prophets. The witness which the prophet bears is a giving notice to Israel of what they may expect from God in view of what they are and the way they behave. In Nehemiah ix. 26 the Hebrew הֵעִידוּ בָם could fairly be rendered, I think, by 'testified at them'. The R.S.V. says 'warned them'. The prophets gave them notice of God's intentions. This involves a further point—and I think an essential one—namely, the conviction on the part of the prophet that he has special sources of information. If I may digress for a moment, we are too apt to think of the Old Testament prophets as if they were the pre-Christian equivalent of our more enlightened commentators on public affairs: persons extremely well informed on all matters of fact, with a sound judgement and a sensitive conscience; able to make a clear picture of the whole situation and then give a considered opinion about it. I do not want to belittle the work that is done by such men in our own day; but I must point out that the Hebrew prophets went about their business in a different fashion. Their deliverances came out at irregular intervals; and they never thought of them as their own work. Rightly or wrongly they believed that they had been admitted to the Council Chamber of God himself. They had found themselves listening to the discussions in Heaven between God and his immediate entourage on what was to be done with his people Israel. Consequently the prophet never regarded himself as merely making acute guesses about what the future might hold, or intelligent forecasts of the probable

[1] I Kings xix. 14.

behaviour of his human contemporaries. He always thought of himself as simply reporting decisions that had been taken at the top level, decisions about which he had first-hand information. The importance of this way of looking at the prophetic task was clearly seen and convincingly stated by my friend and colleague H. Wheeler Robinson in an article published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for 1944 (pp. 151-7) entitled " The Council of Yahweh ".[1] In support of his thesis he quotes a large number of relevant Old Testament texts. For example, Jeremiah xxiii. 18, 21, 22 where the question is asked, ' Who hath stood in the Council of Yahweh that he should perceive and know his work? ' Again Jeremiah reports a declaration of God regarding false prophets in which God says: ' I sent not these prophets, yet they ran; I spake not unto them, but they prophesied. But if they had stood in my Council,[2] then had they caused my people to hear my words.' These unauthorized prophets with a message which does not come from the Council of Yahweh might fairly be called ' false witnesses of God '. For a picture of the transactions in the Heavenly Council, the *Sōdh*, Wheeler Robinson naturally turns to the famous story in 1 Kings xxii, the vision of the prophet Micaiah the son of Imlah with its vivid portrayal of the deliberations in Heaven on how to deal with king Ahab. Perhaps there is another glimpse of the Council, as Robinson suggests, in the prophet's inaugural vision in Isaiah vi, and again quite clearly in the prologue to the book of Job. There are certainly allusions to it in Psalm lxxxix. 7 and in Job xv. 8; and according to Amos iii. 7 the decisions of the Council are regularly reported to the prophets as God's servants: ' The Lord God does nothing without making his secret purpose known to his servants the prophets.'[3] To that material I should be inclined to add Daniel iv. 17: the sentence upon Nebuchadnezzar which is ' by the decree of the Watchers and the demand by the word of the Holy Ones to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will '. In this case

[1] See also his *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament* (1946), pp. 166-70.

[2] סוֹד

[3] Perhaps also Amos iv. 13.

Nebuchadnezzar has the vision but it is Daniel who has the interpretation.[1]

We can now formulate the answer to our second question. The prophets who are the witnesses *par excellence* in the Old Testament bear witness to what they have been admitted to see and hear in the Council of Yahweh. They are in a real sense eye-witnesses and ministers of the word. Their task is to declare without fear or favour the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as it has been made known to them in God's Council Chamber; and very often they have to give their testimony before earthly rulers in Jerusalem or Samaria. That testimony concerns the decisions of the Almighty regarding the behaviour of Israel and her rulers; and only too often it must be a judgement of condemnation and a sentence of exemplary punishment.

With that we come to our third question, which now takes the form, Were the Old Testament prophets persecuted? And if so, why? Some of them certainly suffered, and even died, in carrying out their task. How many of the canonical prophets in fact came to a violent end may be a very open question and there may be more legend than history in some of the accounts. Nevertheless, it was widely and firmly believed in New Testament times that the prophets, or a considerable number of them, had sealed their testimony with their blood. The fullest recent discussion that I know of on this topic is an essay by H. J. Schoeps entitled, 'Die jüdischen Prophetenmorde'.[2] Schoeps begins from a number of New Testament texts in which the

[1] To the Old Testament material we may add *Sifra* on Lev. i. 1 (ed. Weiss 3^{d} 4^{a}), where the question is discussed whether anyone but Moses heard what was said by God in the Tent of Meeting. It is conceded that the words of the Almighty were not heard by Israel as a whole, or by the Elders, or by the sons of Aaron, or by Aaron himself. The commentary continues: 'Though I exclude all these I do not exclude the ministering angels since Moses could not enter their company until he was invited. But Scripture says it was a voice "for him" and a voice "to him". [It follows that] Moses heard the voice and all these did not hear the voice.'

The text is taken to mean that Moses, and he alone, was given audience by God enthroned on the Ark in the Tent of Meeting. He is taken more completely into God's confidence than even the ministering angels.

[2] *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit* (1950), pp. 126-43; cf. M. Simon in *RHPR* (1954), 102.

persecution and martyrdom of the prophets is asserted : Matthew xxiii. 31-9; Luke xi. 47-51 ; xiii. 34 f. ; Acts vii. 52 ; Hebrews xi. 36 ff. ; and 1 Thessalonians ii. 15. When you put those texts together you find that the charge that the Jews were guilty of murdering prophets was made by Jesus, by Stephen, by Paul, and by the author of Hebrews. What grounds are there for it ? In the Old Testament we have positive evidence in the case of a minor prophet called Uriah the son of Shemaiah, a contemporary of Jeremiah, referred to in Jeremiah xxvi. 20-4. He was slain with the sword by king Jehoiakim. Jeremiah narrowly escaped a similar fate. The divine comment is given in Jeremiah ii. 30, where the prophet says in God's name, ' In vain have I smitten your children, they took no correction ; your own sword devoured your prophets like a ravening lion '. Then we have the case of Zechariah son of Jehoiada in 2 Chronicles xxiv. 20-22 who was stoned to death by command of king Joash ' in the court of the house of the Lord '. Thirdly, we have in 1 Kings xix. 10, 14, Elijah's complaint that his contemporaries in Israel had slain the prophets and that they were bent on destroying him. That is quoted in Romans xi. 3 by Paul and is reflected in Nehemiah ix. 26. Thus there is some justification for the statements in the New Testament, even if we confine ourselves to the Old Testament evidence. But it is not a very long list and it says little or nothing about the ultimate fate of the major prophets. The Church Fathers were aware of this difficulty. Origen, in his *Commentary on Matthew* dealing with Matthew xxiii. 31 ff., calls in the Jewish apocryphal books to supplement the Old Testament. He says : ' Perhaps we ought to look and see if it would not be right to prove what Christ says from the more secret books which are in circulation among the Jews '. There it is quite clear that he is thinking of such apocryphal books as the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, to which he refers elsewhere. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was acquainted with the tradition that Isaiah was sawn asunder. The story is told in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and is to the effect that when Isaiah was being pursued a tree that stood in his way miraculously opened up for him. He stepped inside and the tree then closed in on him again so that he was safely inside the trunk. Unfortunately a bit of his gown stuck

out and acted as a tell-tale. The wicked king immediately ordered that the tree should be sawn through about three feet above the ground ; and it was done accordingly. The death of Isaiah is referred to in the Epistle to the Hebrews in the list of heroes of faith, where it is said, ' They were sawn asunder in the midst '. That story is told over and over again by the early Fathers : it is also told over and over again by the Jewish rabbis. Whatever its value may be, it was evidently part of a settled tradition in Judaism and early Christianity.

Another source of information is the so-called *Lives of the Prophets*. Schoeps thinks it is possible that in its original form this book was known in the first century A.D. Again it is a work that does not appear to have any historical value ; but it seems to reflect popular beliefs. We have the lives of twenty-three prophets in this work, and six of them came to violent ends. The prophets concerned are Amos, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Zechariah the son of Jehoiada. Other authorities add Joel and Habakkuk. Amos was, according to this story, beaten to death with a club ; Micah was thrown over a precipice ; Isaiah was sawn in two ; Jeremiah was stoned ; Ezekiel was murdered by members of the tribes of Dan and Gad, who dragged him by the feet until they had completely smashed his skull ; Zechariah was slain by king Joash beside the altar. All this goes to show that there was a strong belief in the early days that a number of prophets had died in the execution of their duty. In Stephen's speech in Acts it is laid down, first, that the prophets were persecuted in Israel, and second, that they foretold the advent of the Righteous One, but Stephen does not make their foretelling of the advent of the Righteous One the cause of the persecution. He asks : ' which of the prophets did your fathers not persecute ? ' And there is an important distinction here ; because I think more persecutions than martyrdoms can be found in the Old Testament. We have the case of Elijah's flight from Jezebel (1 Kings xix. 8), the case of the hundred prophets under Obadiah's care in the cave (1 Kings xviii. 3 f.), Micaiah the son of Imlah imprisoned by Ahab, Hanani the seer imprisoned by Asa, Jeremiah twice in custody in the stocks and in prison and once deposited in an empty cistern ; and further examples may

be found in the apocryphal books. There are many details about the troubles of Jeremiah and his death by stoning at the hands of his countrymen in Egypt, and they are repeated over and over again by the early Fathers and by the rabbis. Ezekiel's martyrdom is reported in some early Christian writings. Zechariah the son of Jehoiada appears in the Old Testament and I think it is he who is meant in the saying of our Lord.[1]

From all this we may draw the following conclusions. (1) There is a certain amount of concrete evidence in the Old Testament that some prophets at any rate did die in the execution of their duty. (2) We have further evidence that others were persecuted in the execution of their duty, even if they were not put to death. (3) And going beyond what is established in that way in Old Testament history we have a widespread popular belief that the persecutions reported in the Old Testament were not the only ones, and that prophets of whose fate we have no record in the Old Testament were in fact put to death.

The persecutions and martyrdoms of the prophets are also implied in the parable of the vineyard and the wicked husbandmen in Mark xii. 1-12 with its parallels in Matthew xxi. 33-46 and Luke xx. 9-19. This parable forms part of the group of conflict stories which runs from Mark xi. 27 to xii. 37. It is regarded with grave suspicion by many scholars ; and it is often held that as it stands it does not belong to the conditions of the lifetime of Jesus, but to the situation after his death in the early days of the primitive Church, with its acknowledgement of the exalted son of God.[2] Concerning this objection I would only say that if it is valid, which I do not believe, it would be valid also against the accounts of the Baptism, Temptations, Transfiguration, and the examination before Caiaphas. If the first three of these are accepted as reflecting experiences of Jesus himself, as I think they must be if they are to be accepted at all, then they provide an entirely adequate ground for Jesus' description of himself as the son in the parable and our real task is to determine the meaning of the word ' son ' in this connection. But it is also

[1] 2 Chron. xxiv. 20 ff. ; Matt. xxiii. 35. For a discussion of this saying see my book, *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 95 ff.

[2] See for example W. G. Kümmel in the *Festschrift* for Goguel, p. 131.

objected that the story of the vineyard is not a parable but an allegory. I venture to think that the pressing of the distinction between parables and allegories has been somewhat overdone. Elsewhere I have discussed the difference in purpose and construction between parables and allegories.[1] I do not propose to go over that ground again but I venture to say two things. The first is, that no voice from Heaven has yet declared that Jesus could not have used allegories as well as parables if it suited his purpose to do so. The second is that if the vineyard story is an allegory, it is an allegory of a sort for which there were plenty of precedents in pre-Christian Judaism, and farther back still in Hebrew prophecy. This particular kind of composition might better be called ' veiled history ', for the essential thing about it is that it describes real people, real events, and real relations in a manner which is intelligible to those who know how to interpret the details. It is the method that is still used in our own day by satirists and cartoonists no less than by prophets and apocalyptists. Every time an American cartoonist draws a picture of Uncle Sam or an English cartoonist draws John Bull doing this or that, he is employing this method of conveying his meaning, and there is a whole host of conventional figures of this kind, as well as doves bearing olive branches, and so on. We are familiar with the signs and most of us know how to interpret them. Much work of this kind was done both in the prophetic and the later Jewish writings and the people of that time knew how to interpret what they found there. For example, whether the domestic story told by Hosea is fact or fiction does not in the last resort matter very much : what does matter a great deal is that that story, whether it is fact or fiction, is meant to portray the history of Israel and, as the key to that history, the relation between God and his people. The visions recorded in the Book of Daniel are generally acknowledged to be ' veiled history ', the history of Israel and the neighbouring empires. Examples of this kind could, I think, be multiplied ; and I cannot see any reason why Jesus should not have used this well-established method of teaching, if he thought it useful. Accordingly I think we are justified in citing the parable of the wicked

[1] *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 24-7.

husbandmen as evidence that Jesus regarded persecution, and even killing of prophets, as part and parcel of the history of Israel. In later Judaism and early Christianity it is common ground that prophets are rejected, persecuted, and slain by those to whom they are sent.

One conspicuous feature of the treatment of prophets in the Old Testament is that the opposition is much more concerned to intimidate the prophet than to destroy him ; and in practice the main object is usually to prevent the promulgation of the heavenly decrees. So it is in the case of Amos, who is officially warned off Israelite territory. Similarly at the other end of the story John the Baptist is held in custody and Antipas is really afraid of him. The liquidation of the prophet in that case is brought about by very strange means indeed, and much to the embarrassment of Antipas himself. Now when one compares Ahab's treatment of Micaiah with Jezebel's message to Elijah one wonders whether the born Israelite was not just a little afraid of going to extremities with a prophet. Micaiah had made the most devastating threats in the name of God against Ahab, and all Ahab had to say was ' take him away ; keep him on bread and water till I come back victorious ', to which Micaiah retorted, ' if you come back victorious the Lord has not spoken by me '. But there is no suggestion of ' take him away and throw him over the nearest cliff '. All that is very different from the message that Jezebel sends to Elijah : ' May the gods do so unto me and more also, if I make not thy life as the life of one of them by to-morrow about this time.' It was better, if the prophet should later turn out to be genuine, not to have done anything irremediable. Ahab's heathen consort was not troubled by these inhibitions and she was ready for direct action on the spot : and so was Antipas's consort Herodias. The prophetic reaction in these cases is to make sure that the decrees are not nullified. The roll of Jeremiah that is cut up and burnt by the king is immediately re-written ; and one of the executive orders of Isaiah is ' bind thou up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples '[1].

I think we are now in a position to answer our three questions so far as they concern the Old Testament and early Judaism.

[1] Isa. viii. 16.

Who are the witnesses? They are primarily the prophets. To what do they witness? They witness to the immediate purpose of God, reporting the decisions that have been taken in God's Privy Council regarding Israel. And are they persecuted? They are, in some cases at any rate. And why? Because the message that they bring is not the message that the audience wishes to hear. They bring news of disaster and punishment when people want to hear something optimistic, cheering and promising.

The fall of the Hebrew kingdoms and the Babylonian captivity of Judah made some very drastic changes in Israel. Jerusalem changed from the political capital of Judah to become the cult centre and holy city of Judaism. The high priest became the real head of the Jewish community at home and abroad. The canonization of the Mosaic Law was an accomplished fact and that of the prophetic books was on its way. Those were epoch-making changes; but to a certain extent they had already been prepared for before the Babylonian Empire finally made an end of the kingdom of Judah. In one respect a great change had been wrought by internal movements in the kingdom itself. When Josiah put down the local sanctuaries and made it the law that no worship of the one kind that was really recognized as proper worship in those days, that is, sacrifice, could be offered except in the one place, Jerusalem, he took a first step towards making it unnecessary in any place: the first step towards teaching people to do without it. We may try to imagine what would happen if it became the law of the land that there could be no celebration of the Eucharist in England except in Westminster Abbey. Josiah did something like that for the kingdom of Judah. He made it impossible for the ordinary man up and down the country to take part in the recognized services of worship unless he came to Jerusalem—and people could not come up to Jerusalem every day of the week or even once a week. He took the first step which was eventually to enable the Jewish people to manage without Temple or sacrifices. That is the beginning. The next stage was reached after the return from the Exile when the handful of people that gathered in the small piece of territory around the Holy City found that they had become the centre not

of any political régime but of a world-wide religion; because there were Jews scattered about all over the inhabited world at that time and they were linked with one another by the fact that they looked to this one common centre. The thing that united them was the knowledge that the spiritual head of the community was in Jerusalem, and that there the Temple of Yahweh was rebuilt. The sacrifices were again being offered, though they could not partake in them except by contributing money towards their upkeep.

More than that, they had the Scriptures. Now the Scriptures were not confined to Jerusalem. The Bible could be read anywhere, and the Bible now became the real spiritual food and drink of the devout, observant Jew. Those Scriptures were not regarded primarily as books that would stir up pleasant religious emotions in the people who read them. They were a far more serious matter than that. Those who read the Bible in the post-exilic period were reading what might almost be called the Minute Books of the Council of God; the records of the proceedings in the heavenly assembly; the decrees of God which had been passed from time to time, some of them carried into effect there and then, others still waiting to be put into effect. Now every Jew who took his religion seriously had those documents in his mind. He had the divine oracles that had been given to the prophets; he had the Law of Moses; and over and above that book-knowledge he had the memory of what his people had been through. What was thus remembered was understood in terms of obedience or disobedience to the divine commands, with consequent prosperity or disaster. For the Jews their own history became the confirmation that what they had in their sacred books was divine truth; it had been made known in advance by God and it had been verified in the experience of the people. Here was what seemed to be a very solid anchorage for religious faith.

But that faith was to be subjected to a still more severe testing, which came in the period after the death of Alexander the Great, when the clash that his conquests had made inevitable between the culture and civilization of the West and the old-established faiths and customs of the East came to an acute crisis. It was

part of the policy of Alexander and his successors to establish Greek cities at the strategic points in the countries that had been conquered.[1] They established living centres of Greek culture and the ruins of them are still there to astonish the traveller. The pressure of the Hellenizing forces varied from time to time. In the third century B.C. Palestine was under the rule of those successors of Alexander who had established themselves in Egypt, the Ptolemies. So far as we know they were not fanatical in pushing Hellenism on their subjects ; but there was a good deal of peaceful penetration by Greek ideas, particularly amongst the upper classes in Jerusalem. In the second century Palestine came into the possession of the Seleucid kingdom ruling from Antioch, and there was from that time onwards a much stronger pressure of Hellenism upon Jewish faith and customs. Once again the progress of Hellenism was most marked amongst the upper classes. The kind of thing that was taking place, I imagine, has one of its nearest parallels in Czarist Russia before the 1917 revolution, when ordinary Russians spoke Russian thought Russian, and lived Russian, but the aristocracy thought French, talked French, and followed French fashions. There seems to have been a period in Jewish history in the second century B.C. when, if you wanted to be anything in Jerusalem society you had to have a certain amount of Greek polish. Mortal combat between Judaism and Hellenism broke out towards the middle of that century in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes ; and it is in that conflict that we have undoubted Jewish martyrdoms. At this time people did die for their religion. Only they were not yet called martyrs nor was their death called martyrdom. The name had not yet been appropriated to this kind of suffering and death. The Maccabean martyrs are men and women who reassert the truth of what is given in their Scriptures, in the Law and the Prophets, and are prepared to endure torture and death rather than abandon their position. Those Maccabean martyrs are doubtless the most significant of the spiritual heroes of pre-Christian days ; but we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact

[1] That policy was repeated in reverse by St. Paul. He did not establish new cities ; he was content to attack the cities that were already established at strategic points and capture and hold them for the Christian Gospel.

that there were other sufferers for good causes in the centuries before Christ. In the pagan world, for example, there were those who laid down their lives for truth or virtue, and the most distinguished of them all, the one that springs first to memory is, of course, Socrates, dying in Athens for the sake of what he regarded as the right of free enquiry. In that connection it is interesting to compare the records of the end of Socrates written by his disciple Plato with some of the records of the early Christian martyrs. The *Apology* of Socrates in many respects resembles what we call the *Acta* of a Christian martyr; the *Crito* and the *Phaedo* correspond to what is known as a *Passio*.[1] There are other cases from outside Judaism and Christianity. One I only mention to dismiss it; and that is the so-called *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs of Alexandria*. They have been recently studied by Father Musurillo and I think he has established beyond any doubt (*a*) that they have no religious significance whatever; (*b*) that there were trials and executions in Alexandria at the relevant time but they had no significance except a political one; (*c*) that the so-called martyrs of Alexandria were really ardent Egyptian nationalists who fell foul of the Roman Empire.

But looking back over the whole period we have to ask how many of the people who died for one good cause or another are to be reckoned as genuine recruits to the 'noble army of martyrs',

[1] I refer here to the distinction made between two types of record: one of which is called *Acta*—the Acts of martyrdom—and the other is called *Passio*—the Passion of a particular martyr or group of martyrs. The distinction goes back to one of the greatest of modern Hagiologists, Father Delehaye. It is that in *Acta* we have what amounts to a shorthand transcript of the proceedings before the official authority; and it is usually quite brief. It will usually go on to two or three pages at the outside; and it consists of questions and answers. The Proconsul said, 'You are so-and-so?' 'Yes.' 'I understand you are a Christian?' 'Yes.' 'You must stop being a Christian.' 'No.' 'I give you ten minutes to think it over.' 'No.' 'Very well, take him away.' It is not quite as short as that but that is the substance of it. The other thing, the *Passio*, is the same situation written up by some godly witness or reporter of what took place and in the *Passio* you learn far more about the feelings of the martyr and the things the martyr said to friends and sympathisers and the things the martyr suffered and so on. It is all much more graphic: much less plain and businesslike and in the case of the passions of martyrs we have always to be on the look-out for what is pious embroidery of the original story, because such stories tend to attract such embellishments as time goes on.

and what is the test for inclusion in that roll of honour? There are a number of voices that speak to us from the early Church. One of the earliest is Ignatius.[1] He says: 'The divine prophets lived according to Jesus Christ; and for this reason they were persecuted, being inspired by his grace to convince the unbelievers that there is one God who revealed himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his Word that proceeded from silence, who was well pleasing in every respect to him who sent him.' According to Ignatius there is no doubt that the prophets belong to the 'noble army of martyrs'. Again Irenaeus [2] says, 'As they', that is the prophets, 'were members of Christ it was as such that each of them prophesied. One was pre-figured by all of them and their message had reference to One.' The justification of these Old Testament heroes is that they were witnesses to Christ before his coming. Cyprian, in chapter xi of his pamphlet on Martyrdom addressed to Fortunatus, brings forward both the prophets and the Maccabean heroes as exemplars for Christians; and he finds that the only difference between the period before Christ and the Christian era is that, whereas in the pre-Christian centuries the number of martyrs was limited, in the new age since the coming of Christ the total is already beyond computation. In support of this he appeals to the seventh chapter of the Book of Revelation with its description of the great multitude which no man could number. In his tract on *The Unity of the Church* [3] he claims that schismatics cannot be martyrs: if you leave the Church you cannot be a martyr. But that, of course, does not touch the lives of pre-Christian martyrs. They were not schismatics because at that time there was not yet any Church from which they could separate, as schismatics later did.

In the same period Origen in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom* [4] deals with the question of the martyrs; and evidently he has some difficulty in making up his mind. He draws a careful distinction. First of all he says, 'many who did not belong to the portion of God appear to have fought to obtain self-control and some have died a heroic death because of their loyalty to the common Master of all men'. He has in mind people like

[1] *ad Magn.* viii. 2.
[2] *adv. Haer.* i. 23. 10.
[3] Ch. xiv.
[4] Ch. v and xxii ff.

Socrates. 'Men eminent in philosophical enquiry have been anxious to be prudent. Men who have made it their purpose to live rightly have devoted themselves to righteousness. Indeed each virtue is opposed either by the carnal mind or by many attacks from external sources.' That is excellent. These were good people and they certainly had high purposes; and of course they were liable to opposition, both by inward temptation to forsake their ideals, and by pressure from without. But the only people to fight for religion are the 'Elect Race, the Royal Priesthood, the Holy Nation, the people for God's possession'.[1] The rest of mankind do not even try to make it appear that if there is persecution of the religious people they intend to die for religion and to prefer death rather than deny their religion and live. Origen goes on to argue that we must not only believe in the heart but also confess with the mouth and continues: 'They deceive themselves who suppose that it is sufficient for the attainment of the end in Christ, if with the heart they believe unto righteousness omitting the words "but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation". Indeed I would go so far as to say', he adds, 'that it is better to honour God with the lips when one's heart is far from God [2] than to honour him with the heart and not make confession with the mouth unto salvation.' Evidently Origen was not in favour of any cloistered and anonymous faith. If you believed you had to come out into the open with it; and he was prepared to argue that it was better to make an open profession, even if you did not always live up to it, than to have the most exalted religious sentiments and to keep them strictly to yourself. In another part of the same treatise he says: 'In Ecclesiastes Solomon says, "I praised all the dead more than the living, as many as are alive until now".[3] What does that mean? Well, who could more justifiably be praised for his death than he who of his own free choice chooses to die for the sake of religion?' And that is the introduction to the story of the Maccabean martyrs. Who could more justifiably be praised for his death than he who of his own free choice chooses to die for the sake of religion? Such a man was Eleazar, whose

[1] See Exod. xix. 6, 1 Pet. ii. 9, Origen, *Exh.* v.

[2] Is. xxix. 13. Cf. Mark vii. 6 ff.

[3] Eccl. iv. 2.

end is described in 2 Maccabees vi. Origen himself describes the martyrdom of Eleazar in great detail and afterwards goes on to an account of the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother, who were put to death with all kinds of torments by Antiochus Epiphanes. Origen evidently regards those people as authentic martyrs but it does not seem that he would have added Socrates to the list. The only persons entitled to a place on the roll of martyrs are those who belong to the people of God. That means Israelites in the pre-Christian times and Christians in the period since the Christian revelation was given. That was Origen's solution and on that finding the Maccabean martyrs were genuine martyrs. But this did not entirely close the question. On Origen's view the prophets and the Jewish martyrs were witnesses to Christ before his Incarnation ; but there was a contrary opinion in the early Church which refused to regard anyone who died before Christ as really martyred for Christ's sake. Only the Church's martyrs are Christ's martyrs and the statement of the case has been so well put by Marcel Simon in a recent article that I cannot do better than state it in his words.

There was ' established a fundamental distinction between the martyrs of Israel and the martyrs of the Church. Only the latter truly died for Christ ; the others perished for the Law or for righteousness or for truth or for a faith which, if it prepares for and in some ways contains the Christian faith implicitly, can nevertheless not be identified without further qualification with Christianity. St. Augustine was aware of this problem and he underlines it very forcibly. He says, " For Christ's sake, that is for the sake of the confession of the name of Christ by which we are Christians, no one died before Christ. . . . Many died and are martyrs. Many prophets have suffered such things. However, they did not die thus because they announced Christ beforehand but because they spoke of the sins of men to men and resisted their iniquities ; and they are counted amongst the martyrs. And rightly so : if it was not for the confession of the name of Christ, yet it was for truth that they gave up their lives." But St. Augustine could not rest content with that solution and he found another. He came to the conclusion that the name of Christ, which is what makes the Christian martyr, was somehow

given in a veiled form in the Law so that those who died for their loyalty to the Law could be regarded as having died for Christ, who was hidden in the Law. " If Moses did write about Christ, he who truly died for the law of Moses laid down his life for Christ and therefore the Maccabeans are martyrs of Christ: Machabaei ergo martyres Christi sunt." '

Once it was settled that the Old Testament and Jewish martyrs down to John the Baptist were in some way martyrs for Christ a very interesting thing happened: the Church at once took steps to appropriate them. If they were martyrs for Christ then obviously they were, so to speak, Christian martyrs and they should be detached from their Jewish environment and taken into the Church; and as this movement took place when the christianized Roman Empire had possession of Palestine it was a simple enough matter to set about doing it. It is one of the fascinating little corners of ecclesiastical history in the early centuries to see what the Church did in this matter. That also is contained in this extremely interesting article by Marcel Simon. There were three principal steps and the course of action to be taken depended on the fact that the Jewish community had discovered that they themselves had something to be proud of in the record of their own martyrs. After all, these men were Jews by birth; and, whatever the Christian Church might say, they had died for the Jewish faith. They were Jewish heroes; and in Judaism there began to be a certain veneration of the Jewish saints. People made pilgrimages to the places where they had been martyred and to their tombs; and so there grew up a veneration for these heroes which is not dissimilar to the cult of the saints in the Christian Church. Somehow it was carried through without any qualification of the exclusive religious loyalty due to God himself.[1] Where such cult-places and cult-practices existed, the Church began by appropriating the holy places of the Jewish saints, with any relics there might be, and claiming them as Christian property.

The next step was to associate any Jewish saint with a Christian companion so that he came, as it were, under the tutelage of his

[1] For a Muslim parallel see Austin Kennett, *Bedouin Justice*, ch. v, especially pp. 40 ff.

Christian comrade. This produced some strange partnerships, for example, St. Lot and a Christian saint called Procopius. David was put in company with James the Just, Zechariah with Simeon, and so on.

And the third method, if other ways proved ineffective, was to set up a rival sanctuary and gradually draw away the clientele from the original place. All that just went to show that the Church had come to the firm conclusion that these martyrs of Old Testament times and of later Judaism were genuine martyrs, that somehow or other they had died for Christ, and therefore that the Church of Christ had a right to claim them as her own.

So then we come back to our three original questions. In dealing with the Old Testament we came to the conclusion that the primary witnesses are the prophets, and this because they claim to be eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of the actual proceedings in the heavenly Council. Then as secondary witnesses we have God's faithful people, who have heard and received the testimony of the primary witnesses, the prophets, and have not only heard and received it but also have seen it verified in the event in their own experience, and in that historical verification have come to know that it is true. That is what is implied in the statement in the passages from Isaiah quoted above. 'You are my witnesses' says God to Israel. 'You have heard the decisions of the heavenly court through the prophets and you have seen them carried out and therefore you know what kind of God I am. You are my witnesses both of the prophetic judgement or the prophetic promise and of the mighty acts of God in which these things have been fulfilled.' Thus the witnesses are now the whole people, the post-exilic Jewish community who really accept what is given in the Law and the prophets. And what is the thing to which they bear witness? It is the purpose of God: a purpose which has been declared by God in his word to the prophets, and by the same God carried out in deed in the experience of the nation. The thing to which post-exilic Judaism bears witness is not a theological theory or an ethical system, it is a profound, tragic religious experience, an experience which had involved the death and resurrection of Israel: that was the thing of which they were witnesses. And

were they persecuted? They surely were. The Maccabean age had a long roll of martyrs. An interesting point here is that the Church set the greatest store by a few of them: Eleazar and the Maccabean brothers, the seven brothers and their mother are favourite figures for Christian hagiologists; but little is said about the other band of unknown people, told of in the first book of Maccabees,[1] who allowed themselves to be massacred in cold blood rather than fight and break the commandment about keeping the Sabbath. We can only guess the reasons for this unmerited hagiological neglect: I should be inclined to suggest that Eleazar and the seven brothers and their mother got the place that they did in Christian esteem because they not only died but also they made a public profession of their faith in the presence of the pagan ruler before they died. That is, they testified with their lips before they sealed their testimony with their lives. The others who are, in our view I think, just as truly martyrs did not have an opportunity to testify with their lips but they testified very adequately by their actions. There it is. Some of them did suffer for their religion; and if we ask why, it was because their religion stood in the way of the policies of pagan powers. There have been martyrs in our own day for the same good reason.

[1] ii. 31-8.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WESTERN DESERT: IV

THE GREAT SERAPEUM OF ALEXANDRIA

By ALAN ROWE

LECTURER IN NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER; SOMETIME DIRECTOR, GRÆCO-ROMAN MUSEUM, ALEXANDRIA; REPRESENTATIVE OF SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS IN ALEXANDRIA AND THE WESTERN DESERT, ETC.

and

B. R. REES, M.A., PH.D.

SENIOR LECTURER IN GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

PART I

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

By ALAN ROWE

THE present article in this Western Desert series[1] contains a revised and reasonably documented account of the archaeology of the Alexandria Serapeum, together with a new map of the site, both account and map as far as possible incorporating older material with the results which the writer obtained during his official Graeco-Roman Museum excavations in the years

[1] Abbreviations used are: *AA* = E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1922); *AS* = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*; *BSAA* = *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alexandrie*; *DTES* = Alan Rowe, "Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria", in *AS*, Cahier No. 2 (1946); *IGL* = E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (1911)—the Serapeum inscriptions are Nos. 6, 13, 68, 85, 150, 155, 168; *PM* = Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, etc. iv (1934), p. 3 (*Serapeum*); *PP* = Alan Rowe, "'Pompey's Pillar', Site of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria", in *BSAA*, 35; *RFF* = Alan Rowe, "Two Royal Funerary Figurines Recently found at Kôm el-Shukâfa and the Serapeum", in *BSAA*, 36; *WGIS* = A. J. B. Wace, "Alexandrian Notes and Greek Inscriptions from the Serapeum", in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University*, ii (1944). These inscriptions were found by us in the "Library" area.

1942 to 1949. Included also, in Part II (pp. 513-ff.), is an important review, written by my colleague Dr. B. R. Rees, of the classical literature dealing with the introduction of Serapis-worship into Alexandria. Previous articles in the series appeared in the BULLETIN, 36, pp. 128 ff., 484 ff., and 38, pp. 139 ff. For the position of the Serapeum itself, which was situated in the ancient quarter of Rhacotis, see the last-mentioned article, page 145, Fig. 2.

The rocky plateau on which stands the high column popularly known as "Pompey's (more correctly, Diocletian's) Pillar",[1] marks the upper part of the great Serapeum area, the "Acropolis" of Aphthonius, the Greek rhetorician of Antioch who visited it about A.D. 315. Both this writer and Rufinus (died about A.D. 410), a Christian priest who assisted at the destruction of the Serapeum near the end of the fourth century, have left us accounts of the buildings they saw there. A summary of these accounts, including a survey of references to the Serapeum area in classical and Arabic sources, as well as a list of the various monuments found in the area up to 1896, was published for the Royal Archaeological Society of Alexandria by G. Botti, the first director of the Graeco-Roman Museum.[2] Among the many other sources of information may be added those of E. Breccia[3] (the second director of the Museum), A. Calderini,[4] and Et. Combe,[5] also the provisional excavation articles of the present writer.[6] It was our own work in the area which established for the first time that the magnificent temple

[1] In Arabic, *Amud el-Sawari*, "Pillar of Columns".

[2] *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapeum* (1895), and *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne* [*sic*] (1897). Botti's archaeological accounts are somewhat fantastic in parts, although certain sections of the publications are of importance. His extracts from the writings of Aphthonius, Rufinus and other late authors are useful.

[3] *AA*, pp. 110 ff.

[4] *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto-Romano* (1935), pp. 140 ff.

[5] "De la Colonne Pompée au Phare d'Alexandrie", in *BSAA*, 34, pp. 104 ff.

[6] *PP*; *DTES*; "Painted Pottery Situla from 'Pompey's Pillar'," in *BSAA*, 35, pp. 55 ff. These articles, which contain detailed plans of parts of the Serapeum (not possible to include in our map), and give the provenance of objects found by us, etc., were written under war-time conditions, when much of our archaeological work was in the Western Desert.

referred to by Aphthonius, Rufinus and other classical writers was of Roman date, and that it was largely built over the remains of a rather smaller sacred enclosure of the early Ptolemaic period containing a group of temples respectively dedicated to Serapis, Isis (?) and Harpocrates. The sections which now follow are : I. PHARAONIC PERIOD (p. 487); II. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (pp. 487 ff.); III. ROMAN PERIOD (pp. 496 ff.); IV. EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD AND LATER (pp. 502 ff.); V. HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ (pp. 505 ff.). Next are the APPENDICES (pp. 507 ff.), containing four parts : A. Egyptian Objects from the Serapeum, viz. inscribed and uninscribed objects of the Pharaonic Period ; B. Ptolemaic Period—Hieroglyphic Texts ; C. Classical Objects from the Serapeum bearing royal names anterior to the time of Ptolemy III ; D. The "Serapeum" or "Daughter" Library of Alexandria. A few ADDENDA are on p. 512. Cross references are added where necessary.

I. PHARAONIC PERIOD

A good number of pharaonic objects, inscribed and uninscribed, has been found from time to time in the Serapeum, and it is to be assumed that some of them originally came from contemporary buildings in the area, no traces of which now exist. As will be seen from the list in Appendix A (pp. 507 f.), the objects range in date from the XIIth Dynasty to the XXXth Dynasty, actually from about 1970-360 B.C.

II. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

It is with this period that we come across the ruins of the first certain occupation of the area ; compare our map. Classical *objects* bearing Ptolemaic royal names of the earliest part of the period are mentioned on page 491 and in Appendix C. The earliest *dated* buildings we came across were the great Enclosure and the Temple of Serapis (latter, right of map), the walls of which had their foundation blocks[1] laid in rather deep trenches cut in the rock. These buildings were made by

[1] Many of the limestone blocks in the Ptolemaic Serapeum bore masons' or quarrymen's marks. *DTES*, p. 29 (copies of marks).

Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). The enclosure itself, which has its main axis S.S.E.-N.N.W., is 173·70 metres in length[1] and 77·00 metres in width. The floor and lower part of the whole of the S.S.E. or back end is sunk in a trench about 4·50 metres deep. Among the rooms here[2] were doubtless those of the famous "Serapeum" or "Daughter" Library of Alexandria, which was a rather extensive one.[3] For further details, cf. Appendix D. The three niches leading out of the lower level were perhaps for royal statues or for statues of the divine triad of the Serapeum—Serapis, Isis and Harpocrates their son, or even for the nine (originally twelve (?)) local statues of the sages mentioned on pages 501 f. On the W.S.W. long side of the enclosure were more rooms, probably for priests and assistants. A colonnade ran practically around the interior of the enclosure. Some remains of grey granite columns exist on the site. The columns vary between 7·10 to 7·15 metres in height, and have a maximum diameter at the base of 106 cm. From the foundation trench of one colonnade came part of an early-Roman (?) Ionic capital of white marble, the only one we found in the site. There must have been a pylon gate at the front end of the enclosure.[4]

[1] We have suggested elsewhere (op. cit. p. 20) that this was an Alexandrian *short* stade at the time the Serapeum was built; it may be compared with the short stade of 178·20 metres at Olympia. Cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Atlas pour servir à l'Histoire Grecque* (1888), pp. 92 ff. Mahmud el-Falaki thought that the length of the Alexandrian stade, according to measurements taken by him from the remains of the ancient street, was 165·00 metres (*Mémoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie* (1872), p. 25). Daremberg, Saglio and Pottier state that the Alexandrians adopted a [long] stade of 184·8375 metres, i.e. 600 Ptolemaic feet (*Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, iv. p. 1456).

[2] The rooms may have been two-storeyed, the roof of the upper storey being on a level with the uppermost parts of the enclosure on the plateau above. Cf. Rufinus: "All *the lower part* [of the Serapeum], up to the level of the pavement (plateau) is vaulted. This basement which receives its light by means of great openings from above (windows), is divided into secret vestibules, separated between themselves, which served for mysterious functions" (*DTES*, pp. 22 f.)

[3] In the Edfu Ptolemaic temple, the library, a very small one, was contained in a room in a part of the enclosure near the pylon. Cf. BULLETIN, 38, p. 154.

[4] For our restorations of this end (now below a cemetery) we have utilized distances, taken roughly N.W. from Diocletian's Column, of certain walls running E.N.E.-W.S.W. and obviously belonging to the enclosure. These distances are given by Mahmoud el-Falaki, op. cit. pp. 54 f. This authority of course could not then recognise the real significance of the walls.

It was the bilingual foundation plaques discovered by us in rock-cut slots below the corners of the enclosure and the Serapis temple near the pylon[1] which definitely proved that these structures were erected by Ptolemy III in honour of Serapis. Other plaques from beneath the walls of a small temple attached to the E.N.E. side of the Serapis one show that the former building was erected by Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.) in honour of Harpocrates. The positions of two of these sets indicate that there was a porch facing towards the pylon end of the enclosure; the adjacent temples must have had similar porches. The plaques, forty-three in all, are described in Appendix B. It is certainly no coincidence that the length of the great enclosure is exactly a thousand times as long as the length of our gold and silver plaques, namely, 17·3 cm.! But no proportion in round numbers can be made out in respect to the *width* of the plaques (5·9 cm.) with that of the short axis of the enclosure (77·00 metres). It seems probable that the temple adjacent to the W.S.W. side of the sanctuary of the father-god was for Isis, although no plaques were found in it, the building having been badly plundered. Ptolemy III probably built this presumed Iseum, because both it, and the Serapis temple, taken together as an architectural unit,[2] are centered between the longer colonnades of the enclosure. The fact that it was the third Ptolemy who built the temenos and the connected temples of Serapis and Isis (?) is particularly interesting because it is in a papyrus actually dating from the reign of this king (i.e. in 243 B.C.) that we meet with the *first known* mention of Parmenion, popularly called Parmeniscus, the famous architect who built a Serapeum supposed to be the great Alexandrian one.[3] It is also interesting to note that under

[1] Botti, who made some clearances in this temple (he missed the foundation plaques we found there), regarded it as an Iseum. His account must be regarded with caution; his plan is incorrect (*Fouilles à la Colonne*, etc., pp. 101 ff.)

[2] The evidence is against any idea that the supposed "Isis Temple" was the actual sanctuary of Serapis himself, and the adjacent "Serapis Temple" of our map merely a courtyard attached to the *front* of it. Moreover, the Harpocrates Temple would never have been built before a "courtyard".

[3] Cf. C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri* (in *Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire*), iii (1928), p. 89. It was in 237 B.C. that Ptolemy III laid the foundations of the original nucleus of the Edfu temple, a building not completed until 57 B.C. BULLETIN, 37, p. 167.

Ptolemy III is first found the " Royal Oath ", namely, the oath for use in the law-courts and in legal transactions ; this was an oath by the kings, " by Serapis and Isis and all the other gods and goddesses ".[1]

In the Ptolemaic period it was customary for the " great temple " of the chief deity to be placed in the enclosure towards the *back end*, and it is therefore in this position, in the Alexandria Serapeum, that we actually find such a temple, obviously dedicated to Serapis.[2] Its length is 27·50 metres and its width 24·60 metres. The foundations are 4·40 metres thick, indicating perhaps a peristyle building.[3] These foundations are sunk in rock-cut trenches to a maximum depth of 2·60 metres. As will be seen from the map a secret passage,[4] obviously for the oracle, runs into the temple from outside. Its inner part slopes upwards to one side of the floor of that part of the building which must have been the adyton or holy of holies, while its outer entrance was concealed in some way or other, probably by a movable slab. In the adjoining cella, which had its external door facing the pylon gate, stood the huge marble statue of Serapis himself. The Temple of Apollo at Delphi has a long secret passage for the oracle leading up from some distance outside to the floor of the adyton,[5] while the " Oracular Shrine "

[1] E. Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 47.

[2] Botti cleared out some of the foundation trenches of this building in 1896, but was unable to complete his work because modern houses covered part of the site. His published plan is therefore incomplete. He found a Corinthian capital (Ptolemaic) and remains of granite columns on the floor of the building, and two pharaonic statues in the debris of the trenches. Botti suggested that the building was either a pharaonic temple, re-dedicated in Graeco-Roman times to Serapis, or even (as we at one time believed) a Ptolemaic tomb (*Fouilles à la Colonne*, etc., pp. 122 f.) Our own excavations recovered the capital, and brought to light a few loose red granite blocks and also a section of the lowest course of limestone masonry, all in the trenches. Cf. *PP*, p. 132, Fig. 5, pp. 144 ff., Pls. XXX, XXXI, XXXIV, Fig. 1.

[3] Cf. however, the small tetrastyle Doric temple in the Nicopolis Quarter of ancient Alexandria (*AA*, pp. 86 f., and Fig. 34) ; I. Noshy, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1937), p. 62.

[4] This passage, cut in the rock, was originally lined and roofed with masonry, a final covering of earth concealing that part of the roof outside the temple.

[5] F. Poulsen, *Delphi* (1920), p. 52, Fig. 7. Reference from Dr. J. F. Healy, to whom I am also indebted for help with certain Greek inscriptions. Dr. B. R.

at Corinth, a small apsidal structure, has a shorter passage for the same purpose.[1] Certain Ptolemaic temples in the Faiyum had a hidden recess below the altar for the oracle. Also, the reconstructed " Tomb of Battus ", of Hadrianic date, possessed an installation for an oracle.[2]

It will be noted from the map that our " great temple " is not centered between the long colonnades of the enclosure as are the connected temples of Serapis and Isis (?) near the pylon, although it is true that the *interior faces* of the longer walls of both Serapis temples are about in alignment. We are of the opinion that the " great temple ", which contained no foundation plaques or even rock-cut holes for them, was already on the site when Ptolemy III established his Serapeum there. In other words, he preserved the sacred building by incorporating it in his enclosure. This would be the reason, then, why the king was forced to place his own Serapis temple at the end near the pylon. There is no *direct* archaeological evidence to show who founded the supposed early great temple of Serapis, but it might have been Alexander the Great,[3] or even Ptolemy I,[4] or

Rees has assisted with other classical inscriptions and has read through the manuscript of my present article.

[1] O. Broneer, *A Guide to the Excavations of Ancient Corinth* (1947), pp. 45 ff., Plan I, *B*. Reference from Mr. V. R. d'A. Desborough.

[2] Rowe, Buttle and Gray, *Cyrenaican Expedition of the University of Manchester 1952* (1956), pp. 4 ff.

[3] *DTES*, pp. 1 ff., n. 1 ; and PART II. Alexander the Great had a direct association with the Memphite Serapeum, on the dromos of which, according to Arrian, he celebrated a gymnastic and musical *agon* in honour of Apis (Serapis) and other local dieties (*Anabasis*, iii, 1, 4). Also, his body was held in that Serapeum for a while before it was transferred to Alexandria, where, no doubt, it was still officially stated to be under the protection of Serapis. Cf. BULLETIN, 38, pp. 140 ff.

[4] Cf. the gold coin of this king mentioned on p. 493 and in Appendix C. From our Serapeum. Tradition says it was Ptolemy I who brought from abroad a statue of Pluto (made by Bryaxis) which was identified by the priests as one of Serapis. But J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard believe, " au contraire, il y a maintenant, de plus en plus, de sérieuses raisons de penser que le Sarapis de Bryaxis a été créé en Égypte même, du temps de Ptolémée Ier " (*Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (1955), p. 241). The same authorities maintain that it was at the Memphite Serapeum " que Bryaxis, qui travallait déjà au Mausolée, a dû consacrer son Serapis " (Op. cit. p. 30, n. 4).

Ptolemy II (pp. 505, 510; Appendix D).[1] The reader is referred to Part II for the *literary* evidence about the Alexandrian cult of Serapis (originally introduced from Memphis) in this older period.

The L-shaped trenches seen to the left of the " great temple " in the map are either foundation ones, or, more possibly, trenches for a hidden underground store-room for cult objects and other valuables. In the latter event, the short passage at the corner of the L, near the colonnade, would have had a secret door. From these particular trenches we collected a good number of Ptolemaic open votive-lamps, one inscribed: " On behalf of the household of the archon." [2]

The famous Nilometer of the Serapeum, said to be a portable one,[3] was probably kept in a rock-cut square hole, having a flight of twelve rock and twenty-nine masonry steps leading down to its lower part, an installation we came across on the east side of the plateau;[4] see map. A passage from the lower part connects with the great grid of subterranean aqueducts below the ancient city, a grid which received its water from the " Canal of Alexandria " [5] to the south. Recent measurements

[1] Cf. the base of the Serapeum statue dedicated to Serapis by Asclepiodoros and Euboulos mentioned later on, p. 494. This dates *c.* 300-250 B.C. (Ptolemy I-Ptolemy II). See also the Serapeum dedications to Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe (Appendix C). Still another inscription found in recent years on the south side of the " Canal of Alexandria " (the modern el-Mahmudiya Canal), opposite the Antoniadis Garden (cf. end map in *AA*), records that Archagathos, *epistates* of Libya, and Stratonice, his wife, had dedicated to Ptolemy II a Sacred Enclosure to Serapis and Isis (*DTES*, p. 13). The original provenance of the inscription is uncertain.

[2] *DTES*, p. 33.

[3] Cf. particularly, J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, ii (1936), pp. 216 f. and n. 1. This authority says that " in the age of Constantine the Greeks of Egypt still attributed the rise of the Nile to Serapis . . ., alleging that the inundation could not take place if the standard cubit, which was used to measure it, were not deposited according to custom in the temple of the god. The emperor ordered the cubit to be transferred to a church " but it was again transferred by Julian (A.D. 361-363) to the Serapeum, where it remained until the temple was destroyed in A.D. 391. See further, *DTES*, p. 32, and n. 1. For local churches cf. p. 503 of this article.

[4] A door was placed at the head of the masonry steps. Cf. *PP*, Pls. XLII, Fig. 1, XLIII, Fig. 2, XLIV.

[5] Cf. BULLETIN, 38, p. 145, Fig. 2.

have proved that the level of the water in the supposed Nilometer pit (which also must have been used as a cistern) is the same as that in the canal. Rain water from the Serapeum plateau was conveyed by means of a sloping open passage[1] into a part of the grid a little north of the above-mentioned pit.

The paved dromos, or avenue of approach to the Serapeum, is of some interest and might have been made at the same time as the supposed "Older Ptolemaic Temple of Serapis" shown in our map.[2] Anyhow, the small right-angle part of the Roman E.N.E. long colonnade together with the adjoining Roman stairway, as well as the base of the Column of Diocletian and the adjacent piscina, all block part of it. It would appear that the sphinxes found long ago in the neighbourhood (Appendix A) probably once bordered the dromos, just as did sphinxes and other statues border the great dromos of the Memphite Serapeum.[3] The latter dromos evidently inspired the Alexandrian example. The section of our dromos near the Column is horizontal (indicating, perhaps, an entrance here into the older temple enclosure), but on either side of this section, as shown in the map, there is a slope. We actually found in the Serapeum a slab with part of an inscription apparently referring to the construction of a new dromos ("To Serapis . . . the dromos . . ."); this dates from the first century A.D.[4] The only other mention of a local dromos is that of Pseudo-Callisthenes who speaks of a "Dromos of the Great Serapis" which was constructed on the course [*sic*] of a canal called Rhacotis *at the time of the foundation of*

[1] Cf. *PP*, Pls. XXVIII, Figs. 1, 2, XXXII, XXXVII, Fig. 2.

[2] The gold coin of Ptolemy I was found on the dromos. Cf. Appendix C. At the Memphite Serapeum great quantities of votive objects (bronze figurines) were placed beneath the dromos. See A. Erman, *La Religion des Égyptiens* (1937), p. 422 = U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, i. 10.

[3] A full account of the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum (on which, as we have seen on p. 491, Alexander the Great held a festival), a work which includes plans, photographs, and full details of the statues, is published by J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*. The publication also contains references to the Alexandria Serapeum. For the Memphite Serapeum as a whole, cf. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography, etc.*, iii (1931), pp. 204 ff.

[4] *WGIS*, pp. 24 f.

the city.[1] This waterway must be the "Canal of Alexandria" to the south.[2]

Among other important objects we came across in our Serapeum were parts of two stone bases for statues. The first base (marble) has *two* inscriptions, one of them dating from the first half of the third century B.C. and the other from the middle of the second century A.D. The Ptolemaic one indicates that Asclepiodoros and Euboulos dedicated a statue to Serapis in fulfilment of a vow, while the Roman one records the repair of the statue, probably that of the god Harpocrates, by Harpocration, son of Polemon, and his children as a thank-offering.[3] The second base (of granite) dating from the third century B.C., bears an inscription indicating that Aristodemos, son of Diodoros an Athenian, dedicated a statue, not named, to Serapis and Isis.[4] Still other important objects found in our excavations, and generally dating (with one exception) to the early Ptolemaic period, were: (1) A cache in a small pit on the eastern side of the plateau, consisting of a beautifully-painted pottery situla or "wine-bucket" of the Gnathia type; of lamps; vases; a small pot bearing the name "Dionysi(os)"; and a Rhodian jar-handle with stamped impression giving the name of the magistrate or eponym "Timodikos", and mentioning the Doric month "Artamitios"; etc.[5] (2) A small cache in a shallow pit N.W. of the Column, consisting of fragments of Gnathia ware; of another small pot like that mentioned in No. 2 and with the same name; and a jar-handle with part of a proper name, ". . . doros".[6] (3) Part of a large decorated pyxis, most of which had been previously found by Botti.[7] (4) Six fragments of a beautiful rectangular altar of Pentelic marble of Roman

[1] i, 31. 4.

[2] Cf. G. Botti, *Plan de la Ville d'Alexandrie à l'Epoque Ptolémaïque*, for the "Boulevard de Sarapis" running from the southern canal to the Serapeum (republished in *PP*, p. 148, Fig. 9). For the canal itself, cf. BULLETIN, 38, p. 145, Fig. 2.

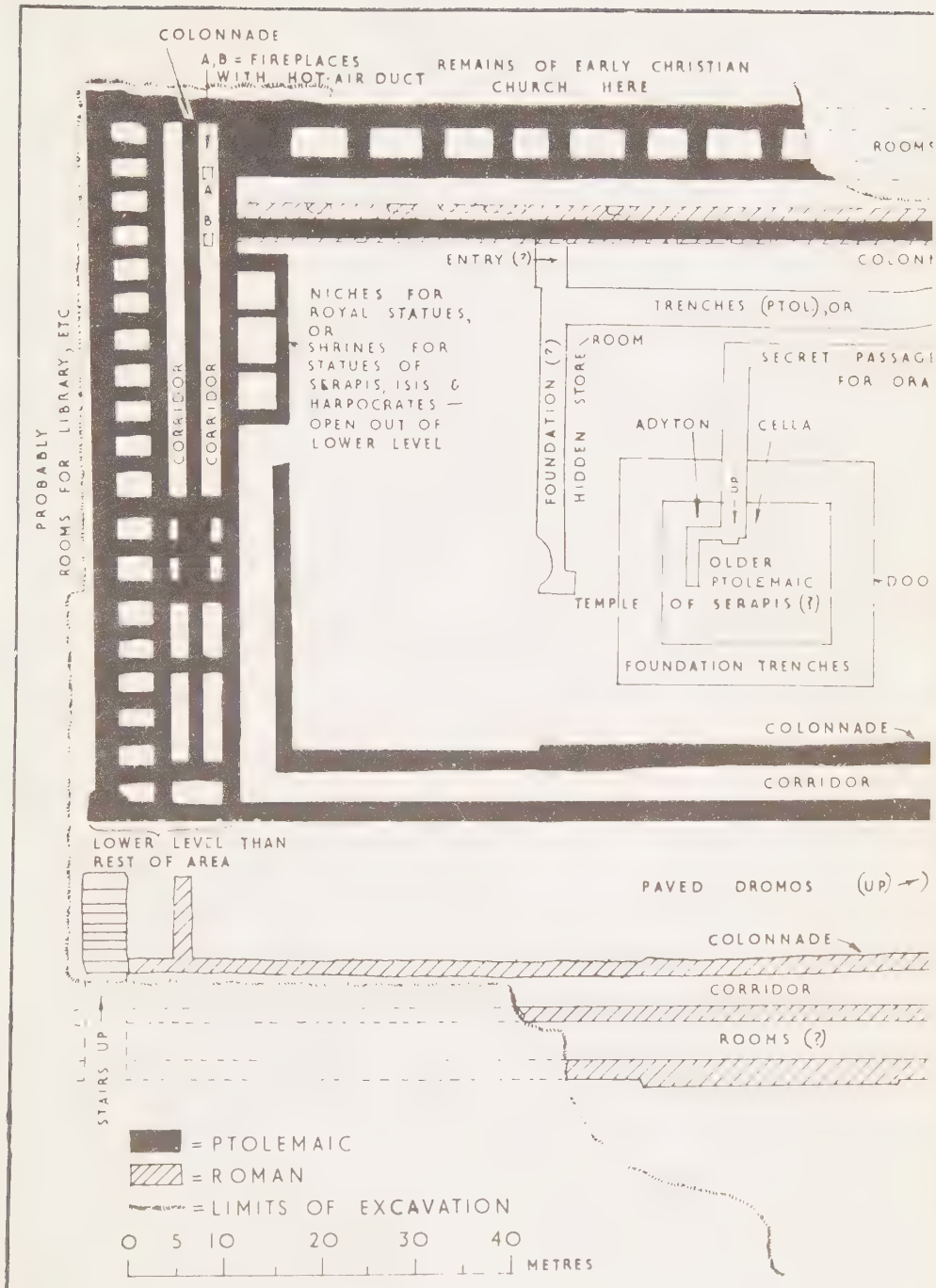
[3] *WGIS*, pp. 18 ff.

[4] *WGIS*, pp. 21 ff.

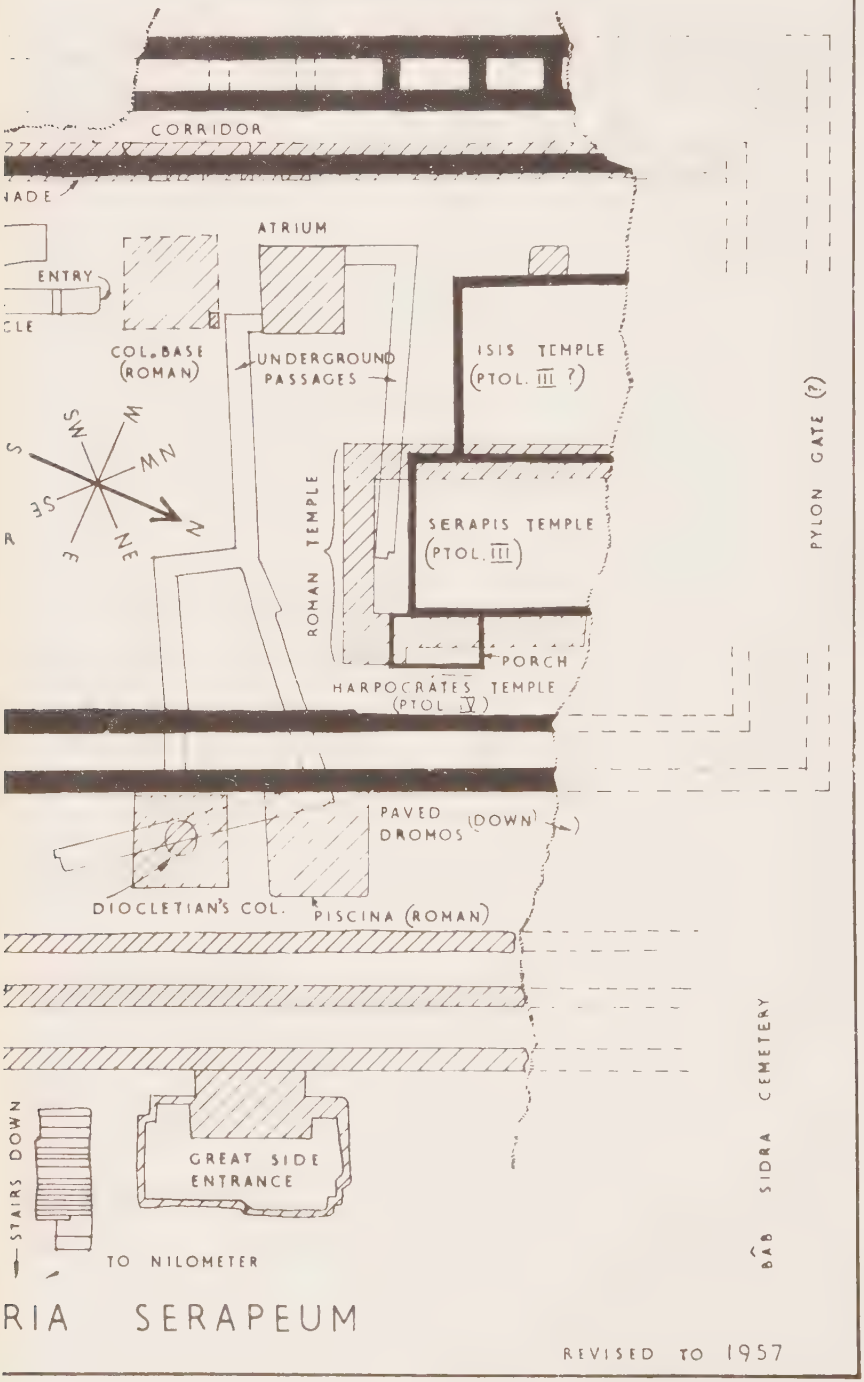
[5] Cf. my article in *BSAA*, 35, pp. 55 ff., coloured frontispiece (situla) and Pls. XVII, XVIII. For Gnathia ware, cf. BULLETIN, 36, p. 563.

[6] *BSAA*, 35, p. 62.

[7] *PP*, p. 133, n. 1, Pl. XLII, Fig. 5.


COLONNADE
A,B = FIREPLACES WITH HOT AIR DUCT
REMAINS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH HERE
ROOMS
A
B
ENTRY (?)
COLONN
TRENCHES (PTOL), OR
NICHES FOR ROYAL STATUES, OR SHRINES FOR STATUES OF SERAPIS, ISIS & HARPOCRATES — OPEN OUT OF LOWER LEVEL
PROBABLY ROOMS FOR LIBRARY, ETC
CORRIDOR
CORRIDOR
FOUNDATION (?)
HIDDEN STORE
ROOM
SECRET PASSAGE FOR ORA
ADYTON
CELLA
UP
OLDER PTOLEMAIC TEMPLE OF SERAPIS (?)
DOO
FOUNDATION TRENCHES
COLONNADE
CORRIDOR
LOWER LEVEL THAN REST OF AREA
PAVED DROMOS (UP)
COLONNADE
CORRIDOR
ROOMS (?)
STAIRS UP
= PTOLEMAIC
= ROMAN
= LIMITS OF EXCAVATION
0 5 10 20 30 40
METRES

THE ALEXAND



RIA SERAPEUM

REVISED TO 1957

type.[1] popular in the first century A.D. This is mentioned in the present historical section because the Ptolemaic Serapeum appears to have been in use until it was almost destroyed in the Jewish revolt under Trajan in A.D. 116.[2] Professor Wace has subjected the altar to an extensive study, pointing out among other things that the gorgoneion on the only preserved bolster, that to the left, differs markedly from the pathetic or mourning type of gorgoneia on grave altars and sarcophagi, in that " it rather resembles a cherub with puffed out cheeks blowing a trumpet and so far no gorgoneion like this seems to have been published ". Wace has proposed the following reconstruction of our altar from the fragments available. Front : The presence of the *camillus* and the *tibicen* suggests a *lustratio*. Right hand side : The attitude of the *togatus* suggests an *allocutio* or some similar subject. Left hand side : The sacrificial axe indicates perhaps the presence of a *victimarius*. Also here is the *tunicatus*, probably one of the sacrificial attendants (perhaps another *camillus*). Back : Delicate plane leaf decoration. Possibly also a *corona civica*.[3]

It may now be noted that in the Ptolemaic period the Serapeum was known both as " The Temple and Sacred Enclosure of Serapis " (foundation plaques of Ptolemy III) and " The Temple of Serapis in Rhacotis " (inscriptions of the Serapeum priest Pa-sheri-en-ptah). See Appendix B. We actually came across one of the objects used by the priests in the temple. This was an inscribed flower-pot-shaped clepsydra or water-clock ; see also Appendix B.[4]

[1] *DTES*, pp. 39, Fig. 9, 40.

[2] For the revolt cf. J. G. Milne, *A Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1898), p. 52.

[3] A. J. B. Wace, " An Altar from the Serapeum ", in *BSAA*, 36, pp. 83 ff., Pls. VII, VIII, IX.

[4] Two objects which belonged to the Ptolemaic Serapeum are the head of a marble statue of a siren (*AA*, pp. 115, Fig. 48, 177 f.) and the fragment of an inscription of the third century B.C. (*IGL*, No. 168). Statues of sirens actually flanked the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum (J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, pp. 216 ff.).

III. THE ROMAN PERIOD

There may be some reason for believing that the Serapeum of the Roman period was made by Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) for, as Professor Wace has remarked, the " Nemesion was destroyed in the great Jewish revolt under Trajan [A.D. 116], and since that sanctuary [was] not far from the Serapeum, it is not unlikely that the Serapeum also was wrecked at the same time and subsequently rebuilt under Hadrian, who, as is well known, restored some of the buildings in the Jewish revolt ".[1] This belief seems to be supported by the fact that a magnificent life-sized black granite statue of the bull-god of the Memphite Serapeum, Osiris-Apis, was dedicated to the Emperor and placed in the Roman temple. It bears the following inscription : " . . . to the Great God Serapis and the gods in the same temple, for the safety of the Emperor Cæsar Trajan Hadrian Augustus. . . ." [2] This statue may well be the one portrayed in relief in the neighbouring catacombs of Kôm el-Shukâfa, to which a Roman emperor is seen making an offering of a beautiful collar.[3] But of course the most famous statue in the temple was the superhuman colossus of Serapis, made of various woods and metal ; it was in fact so large, says Rufinus, that " its right hand touched one wall and its left one another wall ". Two colossal heads of Serapis, one in white marble and the other in black basalt, were found many years ago on the site.[4]

Generally speaking, the Romans retained the " Library " end as well as the W.S.W. long side (where they rebuilt the

[1] Cf. Wace's note in *DTES*, p. 64. Hadrian restored the damage done by the Jews in Cyrenaica during Trajan's reign (Rowe, Buttle and Gray, *Cyrenaican Expedition . . . 1952*, pp. 54 f.).

[2] The statue (very little of it was missing) was unearthed in 1895 just to the right of the " Atrium " indicated in our map, that is to say, not far from the Roman temple. Cf. *PP*, Pls. XXXII (position of statue as found), XXXVII (sketch of statue and copy of inscription), also *IGL*, No. 68. A somewhat similar statue was found in the Memphite Serapeum (J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, op. cit. pp. 13 f., Figs. 8, 9).

[3] Published in my " Kôm el-Shukâfa in the Light of the Excavations of the Graeco-Roman Museum . . . *1941-1942*," in *BSAA*, 35, Pl. VIII.

[4] *AA*, pp. 115, 216 f. ; J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, op. cit. pp. 77 f., Figs. 36, 37.

colonnade)[1] of the Ptolemaic enclosure. Also they removed (*a*) *to surface level*, the N.N.W. end and the E.N.E. long side of the older enclosure and (*b*) *to foundation level*, the connected temples of Serapis, Isis (?) and Harpocrates. Further, they extended the enclosure to the N.N.W. by 32·00 metres overall[2] and to the E.N.E. by 28·55 metres overall. The following comparative table is of some interest :

	Overall Lengths	Overall Widths
Ptolemaic Enclosure .	173·70 m.	77·00 m.
Roman Enclosure .	205·70 m.	105·55 m.

The new temple of Serapis was built over the remains of the older temples of the divine triad, and was centered between the *inner* long colonnades of the enlarged enclosure. This temple has an overall width of 21·10 metres ; its length is unknown. It was probably pseudo-peripteral with its entrance facing towards the " Library ". As in the literature of the Roman period " The Serapeum and The Iseum " were frequently bracketed thus together,[3] it is not impossible that the supposed pre-Ptolemy III temple of Serapis at the " Library " end of the enclosure may, in Roman times, have been used for the worship of Isis. The " Great Side Entrance " (see map) seems now to have been the principal and perhaps the only entrance to the Serapeum, and to have been reached by the flight of over a hundred steps, running up the side of the Acropolis, as mentioned by Aphthonius and Rufinus.[4] Anyhow, it was at this very " Side Entrance ", as we call it, that Botti came across some blocks of red granite from a huge Roman portico.[5] The Romans did not follow the Ptolemaic method of placing foundation blocks in trenches cut in the rock, but erected their own walls on *surface foundations*

[1] Most of the existing columns and parts of columns are near this colonnade.

[2] Based on certain measurements taken roughly N.W. from the Column by Mahmoud el-Falaki (*DTES*, pp. 20, 33, 60).

[3] *PP*, p. 127.

[4] The hundred steps are said to have led upwards into a vestibule closed by a grille, while four columns adorned the entrance.

[5] *PP*, p. 143, Fig. 8. The stair seen in map to left of side entrance is Ptolemaic

consisting of small irregular pieces of limestone mixed with cement and put between boards, the boards being removed when the mixture had solidified.[1] These foundations are extremely hard, so much so that when we wished to remove a small section for examination we were forced to use a drill operated by compressed air.

The lofty red granite Column[2] at the E.N.E. long side of the Roman enclosure was dedicated by Postumus (?), Prefect of Egypt, to the Emperor Diocletian, after the latter had finally put down (actually in Alexandria) the revolt against him by Achilleus, the lieutenant of L. Domitius Domitianus, who had been accepted by the Egyptians as emperor. It must have been erected soon after A.D. 297, the year of victory. The situation of the inscription on the upper part of the base, actually at the W.S.W. side, clearly shows that the colossal statue[3] above the column faced inwards towards the way leading N.N.W. through the long center axis of the enclosure to what must have been the outer door of the Roman Serapis temple. The inscription reads: "To the most pious Emperor, Protector of Alexandria, Diocletian the Invincible, Pos[tum]us, prefect of Egypt, [has erected this column]." As Wace has pointed out, "in view of the symmetrical arrangement of the Roman temple and enclosure (*temenos*) a single column seems odd. It is just possible that there might have been a second column erected on the west side of the enclosure to balance the other".[4] We actually came across the remains of the base of this second column (see map), a discovery duly recorded by Wace.

Adjacent to this latter base is what is generally described by certain modern authorities as the "Atrium", which has long underground passages leading out of its lower part; all are probably Roman in origin. The "Atrium" itself is a square

[1] Cf. *DTES*, pp. 24, 33 and footnotes, for references to this type of "concrete".

[2] The total height of the Column, including the base (made of various kinds of stone) and the Corinthian capital, is 26·85 metres. The red granite shaft is 20·75 metres high, with a diameter at the base of 2·70 metres and at the top of 2·30 metres.

[3] The statue was of porphyry (*AA*, p. 116). The Column itself was wrongly named "Pompey's Pillar" by the Crusaders. Cf. p. 504 of this article.

[4] See in *DTES*, p. 64.

rock-cut masonry-lined pit, with a staircase. Some of the passages originally had niches, each with a rectangular coffer of limestone covered by a sloping libation-table with a grooved top. Smaller niches, but with sloping tables of rock, are in the upper parts of the walls. Botti, who cleared out the whole complex, reported some interesting finds, including two graffiti (" An act of devotion of Dorotheos and all his family ", and " An act of devotion of Ammonios "), as well as a white marble votive slab bearing the following inscription : " To Hermanoubis, the great god who hears us and is beneficent to us, Serapion son of Dionysos, of the Serapideian *deme*, and Eucleia his sister and wife, [have dedicated this stela] for Dionysos their son, the XIIth Year, the VIIIth of Athyr." Other objects consisted of statuettes of Hermanoubis, Serapis and Venus ; of lamps of various types, one of them Early Christian ; and a tiny plaquette of gold with Latin inscription.[1] The significance of the " Atrium " and its passages is so far unknown.

We now come to the piscina[2] situated in that part of the dromos near the Column. The floor of this great sacred tank was of concrete and, as we believed there might be foundation deposits present, we searched in the corners below it and discovered, under huge blocks of limestone, a total of fifty-eight bronze coins and three silver ones. These coins, as Professor Wace informed us, date from the time of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) to that of Julia Domna, wife of Severus (A.D. 193-211). He suggests that the coins might indicate repairs to the Roman Serapeum carried out after the fire there in the reign of Commodus (A.D. 181).[3]

In the Serapeum area we came across a number of cisterns, pits for water, and so forth, full details of which are given in

[1] *DTES*, pp. 34 ff., Fig. 7. A very fine statue of Hermanoubis was found many years ago in a Roman shrine of the deity situated at Ras el-Soda, a place outside Alexandria and near the road to Abukir.

[2] Professor R. A. Cordingley, who has kindly discussed with me some architectural problems affecting the Serapeum, suggests that both the " Atrium " and the piscina were enlarged from foundation holes excavated to hold two more huge columns on the site, thus perhaps making four columns in all before the Roman temple.

[3] *DTES*, pp. 61 ff. (See also *PP.* p. 127, n. 3 ; *DTES*, p. 63, n. 1.)

our excavation reports. They are mostly Roman. Among the interesting objects of this later period which we unearthed are the following: (1) A broken base of black granite with the inscription: "To Zeus, Helios the Great, Serapis and the Gods in the same temple . . . in the year . . . of Augustus." Hadrianic or Antonine period. (2) Slab of marble with the inscription: "To Zeus, Helios the Great, Serapis and the Gods in the same temple for the safety of Augustus Cæsar. . . ." Same date as No. 1.[1] (3) Hand holding cornucopia, from colossal marble statue of Fortuna (?).[2] (4) Part of black granite vase, perhaps Canopic pot for containing parts of the body removed during embalmment.[3] (5) Parts of a unique Late Roman bowl of light-brown pottery beautifully decorated in colours with life-like figures of birds and branches of trees. The bird is the Rosy Pastor (*Pastor roseus*), a member of the starling family. It was the *theleukias* of the Greeks and was known to them as a great devourer of locusts in the spring and a devourer of fruit in the autumn.[4]

Objects of the Roman period found in the Serapeum before our excavations are listed as follows by Botti: (1) "Inscription latine en l'honneur de C. Minicius Italus, préfet de l'Egypte" (A.D. 105); (2) "Torse d'une statuette d'Antinoüs Hermès"; (3) "Inscriptions des vétérans de la onzième légion en l'honneur de Septime Sévère" (A.D. 193-211); and (4) "Aigle romain en marbre".[5] Still another object is the torso of a marble statue of Mithras found in 1905/6. The god was lion-headed and wears a kind of tunic adorned with stars, a crescent, scarabs, Apis bulls, a serpent, and so forth. In his right hand is a flail or key.[6] Finally may be mentioned a fragment of slab of the time of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217).[7]

[1] *WGIS*, pp. 25 f. I take this opportunity of thanking Professor Wace for publishing the inscriptions we found in the Serapeum. The details of them given in the present article are based on his work.

[2] *PP*, p. 138, Pl. XXVII, Fig. 3.

[3] *PP*, p. 144.

[4] *DTES*, coloured frontispiece, pp. 49, 67 ff. For provenance, cf. Pl. XIII.

[5] *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapeum*, pp. 29 ff.

[6] *AA*, p. 216, No. 50; ; *PP*, pp. 131, n. 2, 159, Pl. XLII, Fig. 4.

[7] *IGL*, No. 85. Other Roman inscriptions from the site are Nos. 150, 155.

The archaeological evidence we have given about the Roman Serapeum may now be compared with the following brief résumé of the informative but not altogether correct accounts of Pseudo-Callisthenes, Aphthonius and Rufinus.[1] A monumental flight of steps, we are told, led up to the plateau on top of a rocky hill. Here stood a colonnaded enclosure in the center of which was the great temple adorned with columns of precious materials and built with magnificent marbles. The interior walls of the shrine were covered with plates of gold, of silver and bronze, and there was a bronze frieze representing the combats of Perseus. There was also a window cleverly arranged so that at every season of the year the first rays of the sun fell on the lips of the god. (The description of the statue, by Rufinus, has been already given.) In the temple were dedicated many rich offerings. The capitals of the columns were covered with gilt bronze. The porticoes and the exedras of the enclosure were adorned with statues and works of art. There was also in the enclosure a building with a hundred doors, each bearing the name of some ancient divinity, and rooms in which lived the priests and devotees. In addition, there were two obelisks of granite, a column of Helios (= Serapis), a monumental fountain, and, of course, the great Library of the Serapeum. We further learn that there were statues of the twelve demiurges[2] of the Acropolis. These statues,[3] it seems to us, on the analogy of the twelve or so statues of philosophers and others found in the exedra of the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum,[4] might well have portrayed the same or other sages. In support of this idea must be mentioned the fact that Mimaut, about the middle of

[1] For references see *PP*, pp. 124 ff. ; *WGIS*, pp. 4 ff.

[2] Wace calls them "creators". Cf. *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 265.

[3] Botti suggests they represented Claudius I, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius (A.D. 41-161), but there are no grounds at all for this suggestion (*PP*, p. 127).

[4] Cf. J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, p. 153, for the following list : "(1) Pindare, (2) Démétrios de Phalère, (3) x (?), (4) Orphée (?) aux oiseaux, (5) Hésiode, (6) Homère, (7) x (?), (8) Protagoras, (9) Thalès, (10) Héraclite, (11) Platon, (12) Aristote (?)." Statues Nos. 2, 4, 7, 9, 11 are standing ; the rest are seated.

the nineteenth century, saw in our Serapeum nine standing statues holding rolls in their hands,[1] reminding one of a type of philosopher holding a *volumen* (comparable with the statue of Plato of the Memphis exedra) shown in a mosaic at Naples.[2] In the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, and in the Museum at Cyrene, are several standing statues of so-called " orators ", each with a *capsa* or case containing rolls. Some of the Memphite Serapeum statues are seated on chairs with lion's legs, and, as we found part of a white marble chair of this type in the Alexandria Serapeum, it seems that this chair could have seated one of the very twelve local statues to which we have referred.[3] Well might Ammianus Marcellinus write of this Serapeum that " it possesses such vast halls with columns, and is decorated with figures in such high relief as to appear alive, and has so many other works of art, that *nothing in the world is considered more sumptuous than it except the Capitol*, which is the eternal pride of the august city of Rome." [4]

IV. EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD AND LATER

It seems that although the Alexandria Serapeum was closed in July of A.D. 325,[5] probably on the orders of Constantine, it remained more or less intact till A.D. 391, when religious riots broke out in the city. " The Serapeum ", says Professor Wace, " was the last stronghold of the pagans who fortified themselves in the temple and its enclosure. The sanctuary was stormed by the Christians. The pagans were driven out, the temple was sacked, and its contents were destroyed. In this struggle the Library presumably perished also." [6] However, although the walls of the enclosure and temple were razed to the ground,[7]

[1] *AA*, p. 115. The statues were just possibly Roman copies of originals.
[2] Cf. J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, op. cit. p. 146, Fig. 85.
[3] *PP*, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 2, right.
[4] *Res Gest.*, xii, 16, 12.
[5] J. P. Lauer and Ch. Picard, op. cit. p. 72, n. 1.
[6] *WGIS*, p. 5.
[7] " The foundations alone were not removed owing to the difficulty of moving such large blocks of stone " (Eunapius, *Vita Ædefi*, 77-8). It is stated that the exterior courts appear not to have been destroyed. Cf. Evagr. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 5.

parts of the colonnades, as well as the Column of Diocletian, were left intact. An illustrated manuscript of the fifth century actually shows the patriarch Theophilos, who was mainly responsible for the destruction, trampling under foot, in an attitude of triumph, the ruins of the Serapeum.[1] Socrates, in referring to the demolition of the temple, says that the " bronze statues [were] melted down to make domestic vessels ", and records the discovery in the building of stones with hieroglyphic inscriptions.[2] Theodoret says that the great statue of Serapis, which was mainly of wood, was hacked to pieces, and the fragments burnt on the spot ; the head was dragged around the city.[3]

Soon after the destruction of the Serapeum by the Christians a monastery was installed on the site and a church was built there in honour of St. John the Baptist, later known by the name of Angelium or Evangelium.[4] The church fell in ruins about A.D. 600, was restored under the patriarch Isaac (A.D. 681-684), and was finally destroyed about the tenth century.[5] We were fortunate enough to discover what may be the remains of this very church ; see map, near upper left-hand corner. These remains consist of parts of walls of masonry ; a large brick floor ; some floor mosaics (badly broken) ; two shallow tanks for baptism, complete with steps leading down into them ; a cruciform cistern for holy water ; an underground storeroom ; another cistern, with four crosses incised on its walls ; many parts of amphoræ of the fourth-fifth century, some bearing the simplified *Chi-Rho* monogram ; and, finally, a black opaque-glass Early Christian weight—for incense (?)—measuring 5·5 cm. by 5·1 cm., and 1·6 cm. thick. This bears the impressed signs[6] CNↃ, which indicate what its weight is supposed to be, namely, 2 ounces and 1 solidus = 59·10 gr. (actually the object

[1] *DTES*, p. 43, Fig. 11 (from *Chronique Alexandrine*). Cf. Cabrol et Leclercq, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, iii, Pl. opp. cols. 1551 f.

[2] *Hist. Eccles.* v. 16.

[3] *Hist. Eccles.* v. 22.

[4] *AA*, p. 119. It is said there was another church somewhere in the area, " SS. Cosmas and Damian ", sometimes called " Honorius " (*PP*, p. 132).

[5] *PP*, p. 132.

weighs 60 gr.). Above the center sign is a small +.[1] In a neighbouring pit we came across part of a white marble slab with inscription reading: . . . RIMONIVM. PRAEF. ANN. . . . The last two words are to be restored to *Præfectus annonæ*, which refers to an Alexandrian Prefect of Alimentation of about the fourth century A.D. M. O. Guéraud informed us that the office is first attested for Egypt in A.D. 349 (*Cod. Theod.* 12.6.3); it was subsidiary to that of the *Præfectus urbi* of Constantinople.[2] Some baths and a small fishpond we found inside the area of the almost destroyed Roman enclosure seem to be Early Christian.

During the succeeding centuries the Serapeum area became gradually covered with debris, practically all that remained of the older structures, at least on the surface, being the Column of Diocletian. This Column has always excited the admiration and imagination of travellers. " Cyriac of Ancona (1412) and Leo the African (1491-1517) have spoken of its height and size; Pellegrino Brocardi (1557) declares that he has never seen anything like it, either in Rome or anywhere else. . . . The name ' Pompey's Pillar ' must have been invented " by the Crusaders. " Their not very deep learning confused it with the place where Pompey's head was buried (Nemesion) and transformed the cupola, which . . . Abd el-Latif (1162/3-1231) declares he saw upon the capital, or the sphere which according to XVIth century designs was placed on the capital, into ' the precious urn which contained the head of Pompey ' ".[3] In 1737, in a report sent to Louis XV (and in an earlier one sent to Louis XIV), it was proposed to remove the Column to France. It was in 1832, when Eugène of Savoy was in Alexandria, that twenty-two [*sic*] people are said to have lunched on the top of the capital.[4]

[1] *DTES*, pp. 48 f., 67, Fig. 14, Pls. XIII, XIV, XVIII. The *Chi-Rho* monogram is the " croix monogrammatique " of M. Sulzberger, in *Byzantion* (*Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines*), ii (1925), (1926), pp. 337 ff. It appeared in this form a little before the middle of the fourth century.

[2] *DTES*, p. 49 (with bibliography). Cf. also J. G. Milne, *A Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1898), p. 227, note on *Annona*.

[3] *AA*, pp. 117 f.

[4] *AA*, p. 117. The works of G. Botti and Et. Combe cited on p. 486 of the present article may be consulted for further information on the later period. In

Coming down to more recent times we find that Arab houses, now removed, covered part of the area, while the Bâb Sidra Moslem cemetery was constructed over much of the N.N.W. end of the ancient enclosures ; see map. During the last world war a splinter from an enemy bomb slightly damaged the shaft of the Column.

V. HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ

I. Pharaonic Period

For the various objects belonging to this period (1970-360 B.C.), see Appendix A.

II. "Older Ptolemaic Temple of Serapis"

Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I, or Ptolemy II. One of these rulers probably erected the above-mentioned temple and made its passage for the oracle, as well as, perhaps, the dromos. Cf. map ; pp. 491 ff. ; Part II.

Ptolemy I (305-283/2 B.C.) Gold coin found on the dromos, p. 493 ; Appendix C.

Ptolemy II (283-245 B.C.). Traditionally said to have founded the Serapeum Library and to have kept there the *Septuagint* made during his reign. Appendix D. Statue dedicated to his wife Arsinoe ; hollow altar dedicated to the king and queen. Appendix C. Statue dedicated to Serapis by Asclepiodoros and Euboulos ; said to date from first half of third century B.C., p 494. Wace adds that this statue "may well antedate the reign of Ptolemy III and consequently the building of the great Serapeum. This then may be taken as supporting Tacitus' statement that a sanctuary of Serapis and Isis stood on this site, then called Rhacotis, before the construction of the great Serapeum." *WGIS*, p. 18. [Archagathos, *epistates* of Libya, and his wife dedicated to the king a Sacred Enclosure for Serapis and Isis ; inscription found in an eastern suburb of Alexandria—not in Rhacotis, p. 492.]

Note.—There is of course no direct evidence to show that the coin, the two statues, and the altar originally belonged to the "older temple", but they may well have done so. The statues themselves came from the "Library" end of the Ptolemy III enclosure.

1818 was published the *Description de l'Égypte* (*Antiquités, Description*) ii, the Alexandria section of which (pp. 88 ff.) gives references to the Serapeum compiled by Napoleon's savants. It is to be noted that the respective chronologies cited in our article are after E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952), pp 627 ff.; E. Bevan, *A Hist. of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927) ; and J. G. Milne, *A Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1898). Other chronological systems for the Ptolemaic period are mentioned in Bulletin, 38, p. 153, n. 3.

III. Serapeum of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV

Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). Built the great " Temple and Sacred Enclosure of Serapis " (var. " Temple of Serapis in Rhacotis "), as well as, no doubt, the adjacent Temple of Isis (?). He included in the enclosure, near the " Library " end, the " Older Ptolemaic Temple of Serapis ". The statues of the two deities must have been of marble. [The king and his queen, Berenice, dedicated a Sacred Enclosure to Osiris at Abukir, outside Alexandria, p.509 .]

Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.). Dedicated a temple to Harpocrates in the Serapeum. [He dedicated a temple to Serapis and Isis in another part of Alexandria —also in Rhacotis, p. 509.]

Ptolemy V-VI (203-145 B.C.). Stone water-clock used in the Serapeum. Appendix B. [From a street north of the Serapeum came the upper part of a column bearing the names of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II, his wife ; associated details suggest that the object was from a local temple of Osiris, or even from the funerary temple of the king. Still another object from in or near Alexandria (exact provenance unknown), consisting of part of a statue of Ptolemy VI, contains an inscription stating that the " Living Apis " and " Mnevis " Bulls were installed in their sanctuaries, obviously at Memphis and Heliopolis, respectively. The king was born about the same time as the Apis bull.[1]]

C. Minicius Italus, Prefect of Egypt (A.D. 105), p. 500.

Trajan. In A.D. 116 much of the Serapeum was probably destroyed in the great Jewish revolt, p. 496. For coin see p. 499.

IV. Serapeum and Iseum of the Roman Period

Hadrian (?) (A.D. 117-138). It was perhaps this emperor who rebuilt and enlarged the Serapeum, erecting a great temple to Serapis over the remains of the Ptolemaic temples of Serapis, Isis (?) and Harpocrates at the N.N.W. end of the enclosure. In it was placed a colossus of Serapis evidently made of various woods and metal, and also, on behalf of Hadrian, a black granite statue of Osiris-Apis, the Memphite Serapeum bull-god. The " Older Temple of Serapis " was perhaps converted into a Temple of Isis. The sacred area was generally known in the Roman period as " The Serapeum and The Iseum ".

Commodus. Damage done by fire (A.D. 181), p. 499.

Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211), p. 500. For coin of wife see p. 499.

Caracalla (A.D. 211-217), p. 500.

Diocletian (A.D. 284-305). The Prefect Postumus (?) erected the great Column in honour of the emperor, p. 498.

V. Early Christian Period

Constantine (A.D. 313-337). *Oraculorum defectio !* Serapeum closed in July, A.D. 325, p. 502. The Serapeum cubit transferred to a church, p. 492.

[1] For full details cf. Alan Rowe, " New Light on Ægypto-Cyrenæan Relations ", etc., in *AS*, Cahier No. 12 (1948), pp. 42 ff., Fig. 8, Pl. IV.

Julian (A.D. 361-363). Cubit transferred back to the Serapeum, p. 492.

Theodosius I (A.D. 378-395). Serapeum destroyed by the patriarch Theophilus, A.D. 391, pp. 502 f.

Arcadius (?) (A.D. 395-408). A monastery installed on the site and a church built there in honour of St. John the Baptist, later known as the Angelium or Evangelium. Destroyed in A.D. 600, p. 503. Still another local church was "Honorius". loc. cit.

APPENDICES

A. EGYPTIAN OBJECTS FROM THE SERAPEUM

Unless indicated to the contrary the objects are (*a*) of stone, and (*b*) complete or parts of royal statues. For measurements cf. *PP*, p. 156. The *asterisks* in this Appendix and Appendix B indicate objects found by the writer.

I. Pharaonic Period (Inscribed)

Dynasty

XII Senwosret I (?) (1970-1936 B.C.). Statue usurped by Merenptah, XIXth Dyn. (1234-1224 B.C.). *PM.*

Senwosret II (1906-1888 B.C.) or Senwosret III (1887-1850 B.C.). Block in substructure of Diocletian's Column. *PM; PP*, p. 129.

XVIII Horemheb (d. 1314 B.C.). Sphinx. *PP*, pp. 133, 154, Pls. XXXIII, D. 1 and XXXVI, Fig. 1.

* Unknown official. Statue, lower part of which is missing, representing the official in squatting position. He was a "hereditary prince, local prince, judge, 'He of the Curtain' (title of a vizier), great in his dignity . . . , beloved real royal scribe, bearer of the standard at the right hand of the king", etc. *PP*, pp. 138 f., Pl. XXVII, Figs. 1, 2.

XIX Sety I (1312-1298 B.C.). Block in above-mentioned substructure. *PM ; PP*, pp. 129, 153 f., Pl. XXXIII, B. 2.

XIX Rameses II (1301-1235 B.C.). Loose block. The text, of which much is missing, gives prenomen of the king, and mentions the word *mekhat*,[1] the meaning of which is obscure. Its determinative shows a vaulted hall with three columns. *PP*, pp. 133, 153, Pl. XXXIII, A.

Rameses II. Loose block found near base of Diocletian's Column. *PM.*

[1] For the plural form, cf. P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, i, Pl. XIV, line 11 (wrongly translated, p. 19, as "altar-bases"), also Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, ii, p. 131 ("custom-houses ?").

Rameses II. Two statues. *PM ; PP*, pp. 133, 155 f., Pls. XXXIII, D. 3 and XXXVI, Fig. 2 ; *PP*, pp. 133, 156, Pls. XXXIII, D. 4 and XXXVI, Fig. 2.

Rameses II. Statue of Sekhmet. *PM.*

Unknown. Colossal scarab. Text, broken, indicates the king to be the son of Kheperi and of Amen. *PP*, pp. 133, 154, Pl. XXXIII, C.

XX Rameses IX (exact date uncertain). Offering-table. *PM.*

Rameses IX. Statue. *PM.*

XXV * Ra-meny (small ruler of Lower Egypt ; date of dynasty, 751-656 B.C.). Ushebty-figure, i.e. model of funerary field-worker. Unglazed brown pottery. *RFF*, pp. 35, 37, Fig. 2.

XXVI Psammetichus I[1] (663-609 B.C.). Statue. *PM ; PP*, pp. 133 f., 154 f., Pls. XXXIII, D. 2 and XXXVI, Fig. 2.

Psammetichus I. Block in above-mentioned substructure. *PM ; PP*, pp. 129, 153, Pl. XXXIII, B. 1.

* Amasis II (568-526 B.C.). Fragment. *DTES*, p. 31, n. 2.

XXX Nectanebo I (378-360 B.C.). Fragment of sphinx. Black basalt.[2]

II. Pharaonic Period (Uninscribed)

The monuments in this section date from the New Kingdom and later. *PP*, pp. 133 f., p. 157 (measurements), Pl. XXXVI, Figs. 1-3.

Colossal statue group showing a deity supporting a pharaoh. Red granite.

Two large sphinxes found south of the area. Red granite. Probably, like the inscribed sphinxes, as well as the marble siren mentioned on p. 495, from the dromos of the Serapeum.

Falcon. Black granite.[3]

Head of unknown pharaoh. Basalt.

[1] We found a ushebty-figure of this king near the neighbouring Roman catacombs of Kôm el-Shukâfa (*RFF*, pp. 33 ff.) Other ushebtys of the Saitic era were discovered in 1891 near Kôm ed-Demas (for this site see Bulletin, 38, p. 150). One bore the name of the " King of the South and North, Psammetichus ", another the name of a hereditary prince and mayor Nefer-ib-ra-em-akhet, and still another the name of an overseer of the scribes Paef-ṭau-em-aui-khensu. (E. Sieglin, *Die Nekropole von Kôm esh-Schukâfa*, Text vol. (1908), p. 343, No. 70 ; *Expedition Ernst Sieglin*, band II, teil 2 (1924)—Pl. vol., tafel I ; Text vol., pp. 83 f., Nos. 6, 4, 5). Professor Wace found part of another ushebty in his excavations at the Government Hospital, Alexandria.

[2] *Rapport du Musée 1900-1901* (*Alexandrie*), p. 15.

[3] This is possibly the " sparrow-hawk of granite, having the *pschent* (crown) on the head ", of Mahmoud el-Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie*, p. 54.

B. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS)

* Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). Foundation plaques placed in sets of ten below corners both of the enclosure of the Serapeum and of the contemporary Temple of Serapis (near pylon). Gold, silver, bronze, opaque glass and mud. Bilingual inscriptions. The Egyptian text states that Ptolemy III " made the Temple and the Sacred Enclosure for Serapis ". The Greek one reads : " King Ptolemy [III], son of Ptolemy [II] and Arsinoe, the Brother-gods, [dedicates] to Serapis the Temple and the Sacred Enclosure ". Found in 1943. *DTES.*

* Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.). Foundation plaques placed in sets of ten below the walls of the Temple of Harpocrates, the son of Serapis and Isis. Gold, silver, bronze, opaque glass and mud. Bilingual inscriptions. The Egyptian text, which is in enigmatical form, follows the Greek one, which reads : " King Ptolemy [IV], son of Ptolemy [III] and Queen Berenice, the Gods-benefactors, [dedicates this temple] to Harpocrates, according to the direction [1] of Serapis and Isis." Found in 1945. *DTES.*[2] (The queen herself is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription discovered in 1895 at the Serapeum. *IGL*, No. 13. A marble head representing her came from the same site. *AA*, pp. 115, 178.)

Pa-sheri-en-ptah (lit., " The son of Ptah "). Two statues. This man, the son of Harmachis and grandson of An-em-her, held many priestly offices,

[1] Possibly received by means of an oracle or a dream. Ptolemy I, who is said to have brought back from Sinope the statue which was identified in Egypt as one of Serapis, had seen it in a dream (*WGIS*, pp. 2 f.). Vespasian saw a vision in the Serapeum (*DTES*, p. 47). The Pharaonic word for " oracle " was *ḥrtw*. Cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 318 ; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 41, pp. 84, 88.

[2] Other *local* foundation plaques—not discovered by us—may be mentioned here : (*a*) One of gold and two of opaque glass from the Osiris Temple at Abukir, near Alexandria. Inscribed in Greek : " King Ptolemy [III], son of Ptolemy [II] and Arsinoe, the Brother-gods, and Queen Berenice, his sister and wife, [dedicate] the Sacred Enclosure to Osiris ". (*b*) Four of gold, silver, bronze and opaque glass, respectively, from a cavity below a foundation stone of a building, probably a temple, discovered under the Old Bourse, Alexandria. Inscribed in Greek and hieroglyphs. The former text reads : " [The Sanctuary] of Serapis and Isis, the Saviour-gods, and of King Ptolemy [IV] and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-loving gods ", and the latter : " It belongs to Serapis and Isis, the Saviour-gods, and to the King of the South and North, ' Ptolemy [IV], living for ever, beloved of Isis ', and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-loving gods ". (*DTES*, pp. 10 ff.) To my provisional list of foundation deposits published in op. cit. pp. 14 ff. should be added a few mentioned in E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (1925), pp. 450 ff. as well as many others which, I understand from Professor Fairman, are incorporated in a fuller list now being prepared in Liverpool.

including " Chief of the Mysteries in the Temple of Ptah in Ra-setau [1] and of the Temple of Osiris-Apis (Serapis) in Rhacotis." The latter temple is of course the Serapeum in Alexandria. *PM ; DTES*, p. 9 and n. 2 ; *BSA*, 35, pp. 3, f. and n. 2 ; *PP*, pp. 135 f. Statues dated by Professor H. W. Fairman to about time of Ptolemy V-VI (203-145 B.C.).

* Unknown ruler. Fragment of stone clepsydra (water-clock), used to determine the hour-intervals for the temple-watches of priests. It shows part of the figure of some king making an offering to Ptah, god of the IInd Month ; the eleven other month-deities are on the missing fragments. Behind the god, that is to say inside the clepsydra, is a broken section of a vertical row of twelve small holes forming the twelve-hour scale for the IInd Month. The accompanying text (much missing) apparently mentions the name of the VIIth Nome of Lower Egypt, *Reḥwy-[imenty]*. Found in 1943. *DTES*, pp. 40 f., 50, and Fig. 10. For similar water-clocks, see in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xvii, pp. 174 ff. ; *Ancient Egypt* (1924), pp. 43 ff., etc.[2]

C. CLASSICAL OBJECTS FROM THE SERAPEUM BEARING ROYAL NAMES ANTERIOR TO THE TIME OF PTOLEMY III

* Ptolemy I (305-283/2 B.C.). Gold coin (*pentadrachm*).[3] Found in 1943. Cf. p. 493 ; *DTES*, p. 66, and Fig. 13.

Arsinoe Philadelphos, sister and wife of Ptolemy II (283-245 B.C.). Pedestal of statue dedicated to the queen by the Alexandrian, Thestor, son of Satyros. In substructure of Diocletian's Column. *AA*, p. 116 ; *PP*, pp. 129, 156.

Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe. Hollow altar dedicated in honour of the king and queen. Found by the Sieglin Expedition. T. Schreiber, *Studien über d. Bildniss Alexanders d. Gr.* (1903), p. 251, Fig. 29 ; *AA*, pp. 115, 128 ; *IGL*, No. 6 ; *WGIS*, p. 18, n. 1 (Wace says the altar " apparently dates from the reign of Ptolemy II "). The photograph published by Schreiber seems to show that the altar was lying, not in the center of a small sacred enclosure to the north of the column, as Breccia states, but on the floor of the dromos. The wall in the background, mainly concealed by debris, belongs to the modern Arab cemetery.[4]

[1] Evidently the Alexandrian suburb of Necropolis, for *Ra-setau* means " Cemetery ".

[2] An uninscribed green glazed Egyptian figurine of Isis (or Cleopatra)—lower part missing—was found by us in the Serapeum. *PP*, pp. 158 f., Pl. XLI.

[3] For analogies, cf. J. N. Svoronos, *Ta Nomismata ton Ptolemaion*, i, p. 36, Nos. 210/211 ; iii, Pl. VII, No. 4 ; iv, p. 405 (gold coins of Ptolemy I from Tukh el-Qaramus, in the Delta) = *AS*, VII, p. 208.

[4] Cf. also the dedication of Asclepiodoros and another to Serapis, found in the Serapeum, and mentioned before, p. 494. Date, c. 300-250 B.C.

D. THE "SERAPEUM" OR "DAUGHTER" LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA[1]

We have already seen in our account of the PTOLEMAIC PERIOD, p. 488, that the floor as well as the lower part of the whole of the S.S.E. end of the enclosure of the Serapeum is sunk in a deep trench in the rock. On the *outer* part of this trench are nineteen rooms,[2] the doors of which, now missing, opened into a corridor originally paved with marble. On the *inner* part were still another paved corridor (which was divided from the other one by means of a colonnade) and three large niches, perhaps for statues. Cf. p. 488. Both corridors were roofed over. In the Roman period, when the S.S.E. end of the enclosure was still in use, the E.N.E. parts of the two corridors were divided by walls of additional rooms, nine in number. At the same time two fireplaces with hot air ducts[3] and an altar of sacrifice (or ash-pit) were installed. See map.

It seems very probable that in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the various rooms in the trench were used both in connection with the cults of various deities and also for storing the volumes of the Serapeum Library, the fireplaces, etc., being added for the purpose of keeping out the damp. The Library at Pergamum and that at Ephesus had double walls to keep the papyri dry.

The following is a brief résumé of certain early accounts, trustworthy or otherwise, of the Serapeum Library :

1. According to Tzetses the Serapeum Library was founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphos (283-245 B.C.).[4] If this statement is accurate the Library must have been one attached to the "Older Ptolemaic Temple of Serapis" (cf. map), for the supposed antiquity of which see p. 491.

2. The Hebrew Scriptures are traditionally said to have been translated into Greek (the *Septuagint*) under Ptolemy II and deposited in the Serapeum Library ; in that event the Library would have been the one belonging to the "older" temple of Serapis.[5] Cf. Rylands Greek Pap. 458.

[1] According to Wace, the "Serapeum Library was perhaps a *reading library* for the general public, while the Mother Library [situated in another part of the city] remained the *main research library* for the scholars of the Mouseion". The former Library held nearly 50,000 books (*WGIS*, pp. 5, 13). A granite box from one of the Alexandrian libraries is inscribed : "Three volumes by Dioscurides" (BULLETIN, 38, p. 155).

[2] These rooms recall the twenty or so "schools" which Benjamin de Tudela (c. A.D. 1160) indicated were inside a great and beautiful edifice "hors de la ville d'Alexandrie".

[3] The ducts were connected with the furnaces by means of pottery flues.

[4] Syncellus refers the foundation of the Serapeum Library to the 132nd Olympiad.

[5] For handles of amphoræ bearing (as we were informed) Hebrew seal-impressions—they came from a drain in one of our "Library" rooms—see BULLETIN, 38, pp. 154 f. Cf. *Hesperia*, Supp. VIII (1949), pp. 182 f. Ptolemy III took a great interest in literature (*DTES*, p. 25, n. 2).

3. The Serapeum Library, the supposed remains of which we found, was made by Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.), who would naturally have transferred the contents of any older library on the site to his own magnificent one.

4. The Serapeum Library perhaps received some of the volumes from the Pergamum Library which Antony gave to Cleopatra after the " Alexandrian War " of Julius Caesar (48 B.C.).

5. The Library must have been largely destroyed in the Jewish revolt under Trajan (A.D. 116), and restored under Hadrian (?).

6. It was probably damaged by fire in the time of Commodus (A.D. 181).

7. The Library and the Serapeum as a whole were closed in the time of Constantine (A.D. 325).

8. It was possibly as a result of this closure that George of Cappadocia removed the Library in A.D. 361 (?).

9. Anyhow, the Serapeum itself, as a whole, was finally destroyed under Theodosius I in A.D. 391, and if any of the Library volumes were still there, they must have perished.

10. Paulus Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, appears to be a witness to the non-existence of the Library in A.D. 416.

11. The stories of Abd el-Latif (A.D. 1162/3-1231) and Abu'l Faraj Barhebraeus (A.D. 1226-1286) to the effect that the Serapeum Library was burnt by Amr ibn el-Asi (c. A.D. 641) are certainly without any foundation.[1]

A. R.

ADDENDA TO WESTERN DESERT ARTICLE NO. III (BULLETIN, VOL. 38, NO. 1)

P. 159, line 16. Read " Schiess ".

P. 164, line 11, for " same " read " east ".

Pp. 156 ff. In view of doubts which have been raised in a certain quarter about the location of Alexander's tomb suggested in the article (a quarter which unkindly neglected to refer to my mention of the important inscription of the stela of the official Pa-sheri-en-ptah), it may be added that Professor H. W. Fairman, to whom I again wish to express my thanks for all his help so generously given, lends the weight of his authority as an expert on the Ptolemaic Period to my proposed identification. And, it may be stated, that great Hellenist, the late P. Jouguet, agreed with my suggestion about the site of the Rhacotis tomb.

A. R.

[1] The references in this Appendix are mostly from *DTES*, pp. 22 ff., quoting, among other sources, J. White, *Ægyptica* (1801), pp. 41 ff.; A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (1902), pp. 402 ff. For excavation notices, see Wace, in *JHS* (1945), pp. 106 ff.; Jouguet, in *CRAI* (1946), pp. 680 ff.; Picard, in *REV. ARCH.* (1947), pp. 71 f.; etc.

PART II

THE LITERARY AND OTHER EVIDENCE

By B. R. REES

Mr. Rowe's investigations have proved beyond doubt that it was Ptolemy III who built both the Sarapeum of Alexandria and its Temple of Sarapis[1] near the Pylon Gate, that he incorporated within his enclosure an already existing temple, and that his Sarapeum was itself enclosed and rebuilt in Roman times. It is the purpose of this note to review briefly the main literary and non-literary evidence for the introduction of the cult of Sarapis into Alexandria and for the building of the great Sarapeum, and to consider what fresh light is thrown on this evidence by the new archaeological discoveries.

The evidence for the origins of the cult of Sarapis is scattered and varied, and much of it is of dubious value. The literary sources[2] are, for the most part, late and based upon earlier tradition often accepted without verification and then transmitted parrot-fashion. Though their foundations are often pure legend, they are not altogether worthless, provided that their limitations are acknowledged, and the classic discussion of Ulrich Wilcken[3] has enabled his successors in the field to make real progress. Modern scholars generally are now prepared to accept that the cult had its origins in the worship of the Egyptian composite deity, Osiris-Apis of Memphis, and was introduced into Alexandria by Ptolemy I, rather than Ptolemy II, largely, if not solely, as an instrument of propaganda. To the bibliography appended to the articles in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *RE* I a, 2 (Roeder) and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Brady) the following works should now be added as the fruits of the detailed

[1] As this note deals primarily with the cult of Sarapis in Hellenistic times, the forms Sarapis and Sarapeum are used throughout.

[2] They are to be found in Th. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* (1922-5).

[3] In *UPZ*, i, Introduction, pp. 7-95.

researches of the last twenty-odd years: A. Momigliano, "Giuramento di *Σαραπιασταί*?", in *Aegyptus* XIII (1933); T. A. Brady, "The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330-30 B.C.)", in *The University of Missouri Studies*, x (1935); H. C. Youtie, "The *κλίνη* of Sarapis", in *HTR*, xli, no. 1 (1948); E. Kiessling, "La genèse du culte de Sarapis à Alexandrie", in *Chron. d'Ég.*, xxiv, no. 48 (1949); P. Jouguet, "Les premiers Ptolémées et l'Hellenisation de Sarapis", in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont* (1949); A. J. B. Wace, "Recent Ptolemaic Finds in Egypt", in *JHS*, lxv (1945), a summary of Mr. Rowe's earlier announcements of his finds.[1]

The earliest centre of the worship of Sarapis was, as the Greeks themselves held,[2] the Sarapeum at, or rather outside, Memphis, consisting of an elaborate complex of buildings which included a Greek and an Egyptian Sarapeum. The fundamental work on its excavation was done by Mariette between 1851 and 1854, and the so-called Sarapeum papyri found in its vicinity and now housed in seven different museums present a fascinating picture of the lives and affairs of the dwellers in, and around, the Sarapeum between the years 169 and 152 B.C. But if, as is now believed, it was Ptolemy I who established the cult at Alexandria, it would be natural to assume, even if there were no evidence to prove it, that he either found, or built, a Sarapeum there to accommodate it.

Now there is support in the tradition for the idea that there was a *pre*-Ptolemaic temple at Rhacotis. For example, Tacitus[3]

[1] More general works of recent years which also discuss the problem of the origins of Sarapis are: C. E. Visser, *Tempel und Kulte des ptolemäischen Ägyptens* (1938); P. Jouguet, *Trois études sur l'hellenisme* (1944); H. I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (1948) and *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1953); W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (3rd edn.) (1952); J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1952).

[2] Pausanias I, 18, 4; for ancient descriptions, etc., Herodotus III, 28 f., Strabo XVII, 1, 32, Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 43, and Ammianus Marcellinus XXII, 14, 7. See also *UPZ* i, pp. 7 ff. and now J.-Ph. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues Ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis, passim.*

[3] *Hist.* iv. 84; for the suggestion that Tacitus was using a Greek source or sources, possibly a treatise on Sarapis, see U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, ii. p. 340, n. 1

tells us that a temple to Sarapis, proportionate to the grandeur of the city of Alexandria, was erected by Ptolemy I in the Rhacotis, or native, quarter, where there had previously existed from ancient times a smaller shrine to Sarapis and Isis. Pseudo-Callisthenes[1] credits Alexander the Great with building a temple to Sarapis at Alexandria and commissioning Parmeniscus, the popular diminutive by which the architect Parmenion was known, to provide a statue for it; Arrian[2] mentions that Alexander had marked out a temple to Isis in the native quarter (i.e. Rhacotis); Aphthonius[3] maintains that the "Acropolis", as he called the Sarapeum he saw *circa* A.D. 314-315, was founded by Alexander; and Malalas[4] says that Alexander built a temple to Sarapis at Alexandria.

But clearly it would be unsafe to presume the existence of a pre-Ptolemaic Sarapeum at Rhacotis on such a farrago of half-legend and half-fact. Meanwhile, Tacitus also implies that a new temple to Sarapis was built to accommodate the statue of Pluto which Ptolemy I had brought from Sinope in Pontus and which, *teste* Plutarch,[5] was identified with Sarapis on arrival. At the same time, Tacitus admits that others held Syrian Seleucia to have been the home of the image, others again Memphis, and that they believed it to have been introduced by the third Ptolemy, Euergetes.[6] This is evidence of the most chaotic kind, but although the derivation of the cult from Sinope, or anywhere else except Memphis,[7] is no longer generally accepted, and even the story of the importation of the image from Pontus is suspect except as a device of propaganda, it would seem probable that Ptolemy I, in order to present Sarapis in a favourable light to Greeks as well as Egyptians, installed a cult-statue, essential if the cult was to be popular with Greeks, either in an already existing shrine at Rhacotis or in one built by himself.

[1] i. 33. [2] *Anab.* iii. 1, 5. [3] *Prog.* 12.
[4] *Chron.* p. 192 A. [5] Op. cit. 28.
[6] Cf. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protr.* iv. 28 (Migne, *PG*, viii. 138); Cyrillus, *Contra Julianum* i. 12 (*PG*, lxxvi. 521); Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 7, 14.
[7] The most interesting suggestion is undoubtedly that of Eustathius (*ad* Dionysius, *Perieg.* 254)—explaining *Ζεὺς Σινοπίτης* as being Zeus, i.e. Sarapis, of Mt. Sinopium near Memphis; it has been taken up by Bouché-Leclerq and Letronne among modern scholars. Cf. *GGM*, ii. 262; Steph. Byz., 571.

In fact, the traditional sources of greater respectability have always tended to connect the foundation of the Sarapeum at Alexandria with Ptolemy I. Its design is usually attributed to the architect Parmeniscus, as he was popularly known, and its cult-statue to the sculptor Bryaxis, said to have been a pupil of Scopas. Of the latter tradition all that can really be said is that if Bryaxis was responsible for the famous statue of Sarapis, then he may well have made it, together with another with which tradition also credits him, late in the fourth century B.C.[1] On the subject of the architect Parmeniscus the papyrus from the Zenon archives which Mr. Rowe has already cited,[2] though highly suggestive, must be held to be finally inconclusive. It is a draft of a statement concerning a loan and is dated in 243 B.C. : Zenon and his debtor, Philon, have exchanged pledges, in accordance with the instructions of their arbitrators, in the Sarapeum of Parmeniscus—*ἐ[ν] τῶι Παρμ[ε]νίσκου Σαράπιείωι* (lines 102-3, cf. also line 128). Jouguet pointed out,[3] and Mlle. Cl. Préaux has reiterated,[4] that the reference to the Sarapeum of Parmeniscus as well-established in the fourth year of Ptolemy III's reign makes it improbable that it is Ptolemy III's Sarapeum which is being referred to by that name. On this view Parmeniscus' Sarapeum would be an earlier temple than Ptolemy III's. One is naturally led to ask the question : In that case, was it the temple which Ptolemy I is said to have built when he introduced the cult of the god to Alexandria?

We have seen that tradition normally associated these two events : both cult and temple are usually attributed to Ptolemy I.

[1] See J. H. Jongkees, " New Statues by Bryaxis ", in *JHS*, lxviii (1948), pp. 38 f. and n. 55, with Fig. 8 referred to on p. 34. Lauer and Picard, op. cit. p. 35, n. 2, maintain that the first statue of the Graeco-Egyptian Sarapis could only have been installed at Memphis ; but it is clear that they either are ignorant of the existence of an earlier temple at Rhacotis than that of Ptolemy III (see, e.g., op. cit. p. 33) or have overlooked it in their anxiety to establish the priority of the Memphite Sarapeum, which few would wish to dispute.

[2] P. Cairo Zen. III, 59355. Any attempt to date Parmeniscus starts off with a consideration of the date of his Sarapeum ; see, e.g., Riemann in *RE*, xviii. 4.

[3] *Hommages Bidez-Cumont*, p. 161.

[4] *Chron. d'Ég.*, xxiv, No. 48 (1949), p. 362, in a review of Rowe's *DTES*.

Hieronymus[1] gives the date of the introduction of the cult as 286 B.C., i.e. at the end of Soter's reign; but Clemens Alexandrinus and Cyrillus[2] place it in the beginning of the reign of Philadelphus, the latter dating it in 280 B.C., and the Armenian version of Eusebius gives the date as 278 B.C.[3] The epigraphic evidence, such as it is, tends to support the claims of Ptolemy I for the introduction of the cult,[4] and it has the backing of, e.g., the Artemisia papyrus,[5] probably the earliest document in Greek written on papyrus, and of the literary evidence for knowledge of the cult long before Philadelphus succeeded his father.[6] But the fact remains that acceptance of the introduction of the cult to Alexandria by Ptolemy I does not necessarily involve acceptance also of his foundation of a Sarapeum there, if it so happens that there was already a temple in Rhacotis which could house the cult-statue. We are therefore faced with the dilemma that while Tacitus, in the passage cited above, implies that a temple was built by Ptolemy I at Rhacotis when he introduced the cult into Alexandria, the same author in the same passage is also our only creditable source for the existence of an earlier temple on the site. Perhaps the most we should try to extract from Tacitus is that he believed Ptolemy I to have introduced the cult but knew of the existence of two temples to Sarapis, an earlier and a later, at Rhacotis. We might then go on to suggest, for that is the strongest verb we could use, that his anxiety to link up the introduction of the cult with the Sarapeum of Alexandria led him to confuse the issue.

It is on this point that Mr. Rowe's discoveries have enabled us to write with a more precise knowledge than Tacitus himself possessed. Thanks to them we now know not only that there was an earlier temple at Rhacotis but also that the great Sarapeum

[1] According to Eusebius, *Chron.* ii. 119.

[2] Locc. cit. [3] In Hopfner, op. cit. p. 486.

[4] See Wilcken in *UPZ*, i. p. 35 and *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, iii. p. 316 (on *OGIS*, i. 21); but *OGIS*, i. 16 is now best placed after the death of Arsinoe Philadelphus in 270 B.C. (so L. Robert, *REG*, 63 (1950), p. 213, following N. Greipl, *Philologus*, p. 85 (1930), pp. 159 ff.).

[5] *UPZ*, i. 1 (= *PGM*, ii. 40); the best authorities date it well before 300 B.C. The earliest *dated* document is, of course, P. Berol. 13500 (311 B.C.).

[6] See Brady, op. cit. p. 9, n. 11, for references.

was built under the aegis of Ptolemy III Euergetes.[1] Thus we are in a position to envisage at least two possible identifications of the earlier temple: (i) it may be the pre-Ptolemaic *sacellum* of Tacitus, or (ii) it may be the temple of Ptolemy I. If it is (i), then Ptolemy I did not build a temple to Sarapis but used the one which he found there; if (ii), then either there was no pre-Ptolemaic shrine at all or every trace of it has vanished. These alternatives must now be reviewed in the light of the papyrus from the archives of Zenon.

First, it must be recognized that Jouguet's objection to identifying the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" with that of Euergetes is not valid. This objection, reasonable enough in itself, is based on the assumption that even if Euergetes laid the foundation-plaques on the first day of his reign, as he might well have done, it was altogether too vast and complex a structure to have been completed and ready for use by Zenon and his debtor in three years' time. Agreed; but should we assume that the reference in the papyrus necessarily implies that the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" had been completed? Zenon and Philon would go for this purpose to a *temple* of Sarapis but they might well describe their rendezvous by the name of the Sarapeum of which it was now part. Presumably the earlier temple would remain in being and in use whilst the work of constructing the great enclosure of Ptolemy III was still going on around it—at the least until the new temple near the Pylon Gate was finished. While the work was in progress, it would be a well-known fact that Parmeniscus was the architect of the new Sarapeum and so it would be natural to refer to the whole site by his name, even if the specific reference were to the older temple. The whole enclosure might not be completed in his lifetime, yet still be attributed to him. Thus the evidence of the Zenon papyrus by itself in no way justifies our dissociating Parmeniscus from the Sarapeum of Ptolemy III.[2] On the other hand, neither does it

[1] The Sarapeum which stood in Tacitus' time was certainly that of Ptolemy III Euergetes, but it is the Roman foundation which is described in Aelius Aristides, *εἰς Σάραπιν*, 45; Avienus, *Descr. Orb.* 354; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xii. 16; Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23; Aphthonius, loc. sup. cit.

[2] Wilcken was the first to identify the "Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" (in the Zenon papyrus) as the great Sarapeum in a review of M. Rostovtzeff, "A Large

bring us any nearer to an identification of the earlier temple. In fact, it adds new complications of its own. For example, the earlier temple might be that referred to as the " Sarapeum of Parmeniscus ", perhaps in an attempt to distinguish it from newer buildings like the temple by the Pylon Gate, and this name might have been transferred at a fairly early stage of the tradition to the Sarapeum itself—the earlier temple, by the way, is scarcely on the scale traditionally associated with the architect's foundation. Or, again, we might suppose the " Sarapeum of Parmeniscus " in the papyrus to be the new and, before Roman times, smaller temple to Sarapis near the Pylon Gate, which may well have been completed by 243 B.C., but if we did so, we should be leaving the identity of the earlier temple still in doubt.

The proliferation of hypotheses resulting from our efforts to combine Mr. Rowe's finds with the other evidence, especially that of Tacitus and the Zenon papyrus, makes it clear that it is still an open question whether Soter (or Philadelphus, for that matter)[1] did build a Sarapeum at Rhacotis when he introduced the cult of Sarapis to Alexandria, or merely accepted and used an already existing shrine for its accommodation ; whether the great Sarapeum of Euergetes had a predecessor later in time than the *sacellum* mentioned by Tacitus ; whether, in fine, the earlier temple identified by Mr. Rowe is pre-Ptolemaic or the work of Ptolemy I. Not for the first time Tacitus has provided the awkward piece which refuses to be fitted into the tidy jig-saw puzzle historians so love to put together. But, at the risk of appearing too venturesome, the present writer would like to express his opinion that the Sarapeum attributed to Ptolemy I by Tacitus—*templum pro magnitudine urbis*—was in fact that of

Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C." (in *Archiv.* vii (1924), pp. 77 ff.), but he did not then know that the latter was built by Ptolemy III or that a temple of earlier date would be discovered in the enclosure, and so he could not anticipate Jouguet's objection.

[1] Mr. Rowe's records, listed in Appendix C, of dedications to Philadelphus and Arsinoe within the enclosure prove no more than that the site was in use in their time. The only trace so far found of Ptolemy I's reign is a gold coin bearing his inscription, which is inconclusive.

Ptolemy III,[1] and that the earlier temple might well be the *sacellum* of Tacitus but actually built by Parmeniscus to house the statue of Bryaxis in the time of Ptolemy I, perhaps even before the latter became King of Egypt. But it remains equally possible that Ptolemy I built no temple at all at Rhacotis and that the mysterious Parmeniscus was Euergetes' architect, in which case we should be left with the embarrassing question, "Who then did build the *sacellum*?" Unfortunately, the weakness of our sources does not permit us to answer, as we might like to answer, "Alexander the Great".

[1] Others, e.g., Jouguet and now Lauer and Picard, have come to a similar conclusion, but without a proper consideration of the new evidence and its implications in the light of the passage in Tacitus. I am grateful to Mr. Rowe for allowing me to add this note on the new evidence and for reading and criticising it from the archaeological point of view.

THE VICTORIAN REMBRANDT: CARLYLE'S PORTRAITS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

By CHARLES RICHARD SANDERS, B.Ph., M.A., Ph.D.
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT DUKE UNIVERSITY, NORTH CAROLINA

"I CARE very little about the stars. I look round upon my fellow-creatures", William Allingham heard the old Carlyle say.[1] The statement is significant in many ways, coming as it does from one who in his youth had achieved proficiency in mathematics at the University of Edinburgh and who at one time was a serious candidate for a position as an astronomical observer. This marked interest in people was a lifelong one with Carlyle. It appeared quite as early as his interest in mathematics and his various other interests. In his old age he wrote about the fascination which certain faces in the village kirk had for him in his childhood:

> Strangely vivid are some twelve or twenty of those old faces I used to see every Sunday, whose names, employments or precise dwelling places I never knew, but whose portraits are yet clear to me as in a mirror.[2]

It was not, moreover, people in mass who gripped his imagination but people in their separate identities, people as individuals. A. H. Upham has expressed the fact well:

> Carlyle's real interest lay in depicting not peoples but *people* that were unusual to the point of fantasy, from Richard Arkwright, the "bag-cheeked, pot-bellied, much-enduring, much-inventing barber" of Chartism to sea-green Robespierre and the rest of the Procession of Deputies.[3]

[1] *Diary*, ed. H. Allingham and D. Radford (London: Macmillan, 1907), p. 270. For other studies of Carlyle's skill in portraiture, see R. Brimley Johnson, *Pen Portraits by Thomas Carlyle* (London: George Allen, 1906); Benjamin D. Chamberlain, "Carlyle as a Portrait Painter", *Sewanee Review*, xxxvi (July 1928), 329-41; and Logan Pearsall Smith, "The Rembrandt of English Prose", *Reperusals and Re-collections* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937), pp. 202-21. The range and importance of the portraits imbedded in Carlyle's letters is discussed in my article "Carlyle's Letters", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxxviii (September 1955), 199-224.

[2] J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: The First Forty Years* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882), i. 10.

[3] "Rabelaisianism in Carlyle", *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii (November 1918), 413.

Yet Carlyle early became aware of a conflict in his nature between this interest and strongly anti-social tendencies, a conflict which also proved to be lifelong. From first to last, there were many times in his life when he wished to shut himself off from other people with their clamorous noises and furious, meaningless activities. The conflict is reflected very clearly in some good advice which he gave to Jane Welsh in a letter date 8 January 1824:

> My dearest Jane! if you would avoid being wretched, never estrange yourself from the beaten ways of men: mix in their concerns, participate in their interests, imitate their common habits, however poor and mean. No one knows more bitterly than I the consequence of neglecting this.[1]

The conflict was in his mind when he made the important decision to leave the lonely farmhouse of Craigenputtock and to live in London. Soon after the Carlyles had established themselves in Chelsea, Carlyle wrote a letter to his brother, Dr. John Carlyle, which suggested that he sensed at least some possibility of victory over the anti-social side of himself:

> Never (as I have long felt) till a man get into practical contact with the men round him, and learn to take and give influence there, does he enjoy the free consciousness of his existence. Alas, I have long felt this, and felt it in vain. Nevertheless there is a kind of inextinguishable hope in me that it *shall not* always be so; that once, for some short season, I shall live before I die.[2]

With the excellent example of one of his heroes, Dr. Samuel Johnson, before his eyes in Boswell's great book, he valiantly fought this battle for the rest of his life and achieved, not complete victory, but magnificent results. One result was the tremendous affection which his generation as a whole came to have for him. "I may say", he wrote truthfully from Mentone a few months after his wife's death, "I have been well loved by my contemporaries—taken as a body corporate—thank God!"[3] Another extremely important result was the hundreds of inimitable portraits of his contemporaries which he left for posterity to enjoy.

[1] *The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh*, ed. Alexander Carlyle (London and New York: John Lane, 1909), i. 321.

[2] Dated 28 October 1834. In *Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1826-1836*, ed. C. E. Norton (London and New York: Macmillan, 1889), p. 459.

[3] J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: His Life in London* (London: Longmans, Green, 1884), ii. 339.

To draw these portraits, Carlyle had to conquer not only his recurring desire to escape from people but a strong desire, also recurring, to escape from the present age into the past. At times his antipathy for his own time was intense. " Mingle with the bright spirits of former ages . . .", he wrote in a letter to William Graham in 1821 ; " the concentrated essence of the past will entice you from the weary insipidity of the present." [1] In the England of 1830 there was very little to admire :

> Alas, poor England, stupid, purblind, pudding-eating England ! Bentham with his Mills grinding thee out Morality ; and some Macaulay, also be-aproned and a grinder, testing it and decrying it, because it is not his own Whig-established *Quern*-morality ! [2]

Past and Present (1843) was born out of Carlyle's efforts to persuade the present to profit from the lessons which the past could teach. It badly needed such lessons. It was, moreover, a time which placed many difficulties in the way of a writer attempting to deal adequately with a great historic subject, as Carlyle felt that he was doing in his work on Cromwell's age. " No history of it *can* be written ", he wrote to Emerson in 1845 almost in despair, " to this wretched, fleering, sneering, canting, twaddling, God-forgetting generation. How can you explain men to Apes by the Dead Sea ? " [3]

Fortunately, in other moods Carlyle spoke of his own age as one full of interest and of his intense desire to understand it. In 1828 he wrote in his notebook :

> Above all things, I should like to *know England*, the essence of social life in this same little Island of ours. But how ? No one that I speak to can throw light on it ; not he that has worked and lived in the midst of it for half a century. The blind following the blind ! Yet each cries out : What glorious sunshine we have ! [4]

The here and now, if rightly observed and understood, could reveal its own grandeur and could be a noble subject for thought and writing. *Sartor Resartus* emphasizes this idea. The

[1] *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to William Graham*. ed. John Graham, Jr. (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 23-4.

[2] *Two Notebooks of Thomas Carlyle from 23 March 1822 to 16 May 1832*, ed. C. E. Norton (New York : Grolier Club, 1898), p. 172.

[3] Dated 16 February. In *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834-1872*, ed. C. E. Norton (Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin, 1894), ii. 92-3.

[4] *Two Notebooks*, p. 132.

following passage was entered in his notebook about the time he was completing *Sartor :*

> Nevertheless, *God is in it :* here, even here, is the Revelation of the Infinite in the Finite ; a majestic Poem (tragic, comic or epic), couldst thou but read it and recite it ! Watch it then ; study it, catch the secret of it, and proclaim the same in such accent as is given thee.—Alas ! the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.[1]

His belief that a thinking man should not turn his back on his own age had become a strong conviction with him by 1842 and was the basis of his criticism of the New England *Dial* as he expressed it in a letter to Emerson :

> One of my grand difficulties [in working on *Cromwell*] I suspect to be that I cannot write *two Books at once ;* cannot be in the seventeenth century and in the nineteenth at one and the same moment ; a feat which excels even that of the Irishman's *bird :* " Nobody but a bird can be in two places at once ! " For my heart is sick and sore in behalf of my own poor generation. . . .
>
> I love your *Dial,* and yet it is with a kind of shudder. You seem to me in danger of dividing yourselves from the Fact of this present Universe, in which alone, ugly as it is, can I find any anchorage, and soaring away after Ideas, Beliefs, Revelations, and such like,—into perilous altitudes, as I think ; beyond the curve of perpetual frost, for one thing ! . . . Surely I could wish you *returned* into your own poor nineteenth century, its follies and maladies, its blind or half-blind, but gigantic toilings, its laughter and its tears, and trying to evolve in some measure the hidden Godlike that lies in *it ;* —that seems to me the kind of feat for literary men. . . . Well, I do believe, for one thing, a man has no right to say to his own generation, turning quite away from it, " Be damned ! " It is the whole Past and the whole Future, this same cotton-spinning, dollar-hunting, canting and shrieking, very wretched generation of ours. Come back into it, I tell you.[2]

We know that Carlyle never gave up his own interest in history and the past. *Past and Present, Cromwell,* and *Frederick the Great* were all to be written after 1842. The danger was not, as he knew, in studying the past ; the danger was in forgetting or rejecting the present in the study of the past. More and more he came to appreciate the rôle of the thinking, observant man who kept his eyes open wide to the world around him and who served his own and later generations as the abstract and brief chronicle of the time. " A man with eyes," he wrote to Varnhagen von Ense, " with soul and heart, to tell me in candid clearness what he saw passing round him in this universe—is

[1] Ibid. p. 211.

[2] *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson,* ii. 10-12.

and remains for ever a welcome man." [1] There can be no doubt that he consciously and conscientiously took this rôle on himself as he watched his Victorian world with mingled fascination, antipathy, and delight.

To the task of observing and portraying his contemporaries he brought the same high gifts which served him as he drew his memorable historic portraits. These gifts were duly recognized and appreciated in his own day and have been acknowledged in later times. Froude placed Carlyle at the head of literary portrait painters.[2] John Burroughs, Logan Pearsall Smith, and others have compared him to Albert Dürer or to Rembrandt.[3] The historian Lecky spoke of " his unrivalled power of etching out a subject by a few words so as to make it stand out in prominent relief ", and called him " the very greatest of word painters ".[4] Even Lytton Strachey spoke of him, not quite accurately, as " a psalm-singing Scotchman with a power of observation and description which knocks you flat ".[5]

Certainly he was served well by a pair of remarkable eyes. Emerson spoke of them as " thirsty eyes ", " devouring eyes ", " portrait-eating, portrait-painting eyes ". He found, even in a photograph of Carlyle, " the organism of the eye full of England, the valid eye ".[6] Froude said :

> Of all the men whom I have ever known, he had the greatest power of taking in and remembering the minute particulars of what he saw, and of then reproducing them in language.[7]

One of Carlyle's first biographers, W. H. Wylie, was impressed by the contrast between his bright blue eyes, " the chief charm

[1] 19 December 1842. In " Letters from Carlyle to Varnhagen von Ense ", *New Review*, vi (April 1892), 416-18. [2] *Carlyle in London*, ii. 284.

[3] Burroughs' *Fresh Fields* (1885) is quoted to this effect by D. A. Wilson in *Thomas Carlyle*, six vols. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1923-34), v. 577. See Smith, *loc. cit.*

[4] For Lecky's praise of Carlyle as " the very greatest of word-painters ", see Wilson, *Carlyle*, vi. 311-12.

[5] In an unpublished letter in the possession of Mr. James Strachey, his brother. See also Strachey's " Carlyle " in *Portraits in Miniature* and his praise of Carlyle's portrait of Coleridge in " Some new Carlyle Letters ", *Spectator*, CII (April 10, 1909), 577-78.

[6] *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, i. 268, 334 ; ii. 126.

[7] *Carlyle in London*, i. 259.

of this strange, rugged countenance ", and the rest of his face. The other features were hard, stern, cold, and forbidding, but the eyes were remarkably quick, yet sad, wistful, and infinitely tender.[1] After William Allingham had gazed for a few moments at the corpse of Thomas Carlyle, whom he had known well, he went home and made the following entry in his diary :

> The large beautiful eyelids were closed forever on a pair of eyes that, whether for carrying messages inwards or outwards, had scarce met their equals on earth or left such behind.[2]

Carlyle's gift of language was equal to his power of observation. It was a gift which he believed that he had inherited from his father :

> None of us will ever forget that bold glowing style of his, flowing free from the untutored soul, full of metaphor, though he knew not what metaphor was, with all manner of potent words which he appropriated and applied with surprising accuracy—brief, energetic, conveying the most perfect picture, definite, clear, not in ambitious colours, but in full white sunlight. Emphatic I have heard him beyond all men. In anger he had no need of oaths.[3]

He had highest praise for his father's " clearest brief portraits " of Annandale notabilities and compared his father's skill here with that of Wordsworth. But he added that even Wordsworth was inferior.[4]

We may note that he spoke of his father as an untutored soul who used metaphor but did not know what metaphor was and who painted in black and white rather than in ambitious colours. The question arises as to whether Carlyle himself was a conscious artist deliberately using definite methods. His writings, we know, contain many scornful references to the fine arts and what he called, rather loosely, dillettantism. Froude reports that he " often ferociously insisted that he knew nothing about the fine arts, and wished to know nothing ".[5] Certainly he would have nothing to do with art as applied to portrait painting if it violated

[1] *Thomas Carlyle* (London : Marshall Japp and Co., 1881), p. 327. See also p. 71.

[2] *Diary*, p. 309.

[3] Froude, *Carlyle : The First Forty Years*, i. 16.

[4] *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, ed. J. A. Froude (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), i. 3. See also Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 491.

[5] *Carlyle in London*, i. 265, 421.

the principle of realism and produced anything other than a likeness of its subject :

> A portrait, an actual *likeness*, were it done only with a burnt stick on the board of a pair of bellows,—how infinitely preferable to the finest brain work when it is a *no-likeness* of anything in heaven or earth.[1]

In his historical writing he felt greatly handicapped until he had been able to find portraits which he took to be reasonably faithful likenesses of the subjects involved. He told his friend Duffy that he had formed the habit of pasting engraved portraits on a screen in his workroom when he could find no better ones of the people he was writing about.[2] A leader in the movement to establish National Portrait Galleries in England and Scotland in 1853 and 1854, a movement which he suggested that the Prince Consort might worthily promote, he insisted in letters to Lord Ashburton and David Laing that the pictures selected should be those which gave definite evidence of being real likenesses. To Laing he wrote :

> In all my poor Historical investigations, it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after ; a good *Portrait* if such exists ; failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, *any* representation, made by a faithful human creature, of that Face and Figure, which *he* saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all. This, which is my own deep experience, I believe to be, in a deeper or less deep degree, the universal one.[3]

In writing to Lord Ashburton, he declared : " My experience is, there lies more elucidation of the hero's real character in such a Portrait than in half the written Lives you will read about him " ; he deplored the difficulty he had had in Berlin in an effort to find an authentic picture of Frederick II ; and he expressed an intense desire to see " an exact likeness of the Man Jesus ".[4] Once in talking to Richard Monckton Milnes he said, " I would rather have one real glimpse of the young Jew face of Christ than

[1] Unpublished letter of 22 January 1858 in The John Rylands Library (Eng. MS. 336/11).

[2] Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, *Conversations with Carlyle* (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), pp. 92-3.

[3] See Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 100-2. The Library of the University of Edinburgh has the original letter in complete form.

[4] Ibid. pp. 39 ff.

see all the Raphaels in the world ".[1] He repeatedly insisted that the artist should actually see the person whom he was portraying : even an Erasmus by a Vandyke was not wanted.[2]

Carlyle believed, furthermore, that a good likeness will always place the emphasis upon the face and eyes. Whistler, he declared with some irritation in a letter to C. E. Norton, had failed precisely here in painting Carlyle himself :

> Whistler has vanished from my eyes and from everybody's that I hear of for a long while, labouring and lounging somewhere about Liverpool in some Armidas Castle there, who knows ? Besides which the full-length portrait you had put your hopes in seemed to me little other than a fatuity ; was considered to be unfinished after many weary settings, and to be a portrait not of my poor features, but of the clothes I had on ; which, and not the face, seemed to occupy the strenuous attention and vigorous activity of my singular Artist all the while. He made a solemn enough " Exhibition " of this and other paintings and etchings ; of all which the etchings only seemed to me to have any real excellence.[3]

When in 1869, three years after the death of Mrs. Carlyle, an artist was attempting to use a photograph as the basis of an acceptable portrait of her, Carlyle gave him this advice : " The eyes, in every face, are the chief feature ; but in this face they were in it *infinitely* so,—bright hazel, radiant with many meanings." [4]

Actually, Carlyle was as a portrait painter a very great artist whose conscious methods are always interesting and often highly effective. Not merely the principle of emphasis and fidelity of vision concerned him ; he was fully aware of the importance of shadows in portraits. One of his favourite books was Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and he did not fail to note the judicious balance of light and shadow which are deliberately employed there.

[1] Wilson, *Carlyle*, iii. 45. Joseph Neuberg, after accompanying Carlyle through a Berlin Picture gallery in 1852, wrote : " Carlyle made of kinds of side-thrusts at the painters, with their pictures of Christ and their Madonnas ; and Cornelius several times called him ' a godless man ' " (Thomas Sadler, " Carlyle and Neuberg ", *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1 (August 1884), 289).

[2] Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 337. Carlyle told Allingham : " People set about writing history in an entirely wrong manner. They ought to try and *see* the people and events, and set them forth in due order and all possible clearness " (*Diary*, p. 262. See also the *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, i. 272-3).

[3] Dated 1 April 1875. From the autograph letter in the Harvard Library.

[4] From a letter dated 23 April 1869. In R. H. Shepherd, *Thomas Carlyle* (London : W. H. Allen, 1881), ii. 235.

Carlyle regretted that Lockhart failed to use such a balance in his *Life of Scott*. His comment here has been often quoted: "How delicate, decent, is English biography, bless its mealy mouth!" [1] Allingham reports once hearing Carlyle praise, certainly with some exaggeration, Samuel Cooper, the seventeenth-century miniature painter, as "the best portrait-painter who ever lived", because he was faithful to his subject in every respect and when Cromwell told him to paint the wart into his portrait, he did.[2] In Carlyle's own portraits, however, as in Rembrandt's, the use of shadow serves an artistic purpose which goes far beyond mere truthfulness or what Carlyle liked to call "veracity". It produces an effect of depth, solidity, and richness that corresponds to the use of bass chords in music. His pictures are never flat or shallow; however boldly certain details in them may project themselves forward, others which are fully as significant flow back into the darkness and unite themselves with its mysterious entities. As the various details of the portrait are bathed in this harmony of light and shadow, they find their right proportions, receive their proper emphasis, and fall into their natural relationships. The Victorians quite appropriately compared Carlyle's descriptive power with the stereoscope on their parlour tables. G. S. Venables said that he had "a stereoscopic imagination" and that he "put everything before you in a solid shape". [3] After reading the first two volumes of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, Emerson wrote in his *Diary:*

> I do not so much read a stereotype page, as I see the eyes of the writer looking into my eyes, with winks and long-commanding glances, and stereoscoping every figure that passes, and every hill, river, wood, hummock, and pebble in the long perspective.[4]

In observing and representing the physical details of his subjects in their right proportions and proper perspective, furthermore, Carlyle rarely treats these details as ends in themselves, however interesting or even picturesque they may be. Rather, he wishes to discover and suggest what the persons with whom he deals really were, where their points of strength or

[1] Froude, *Carlyle: The First Forty Years*, Preface, ix-xi.
[2] *Diary*, p. 271. [3] Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 538. [4] Ibid. p. 313.

weakness lay, and what they might be worth in quality of spirit and fibre of character. His concern, like that of Chaucer, Rembrandt, and in our time William Butler Yeats, is with evaluative portraiture, with pictures which are also judgements. Hence he selects with greatest care, as they do, the details which are to be painted into the portrait. The extremely important question arises as to what principles he follows in interpreting and evaluating these details.

Certainly they have nothing to do with phrenology, which was in its heyday in the first third of the nineteenth century. This was the time when the writings of Spurzheim were in great demand in England, when the great doctor himself visited Edinburgh and was received with acclaim there, and when, for a while, his disciple George Combe also flourished in Edinburgh. Carlyle was never once tempted to yield to the doctrines of the phrenologists. As a thinker, his own head was much too hard for that, and one guesses that they would have had considerable difficulty in reading the meaning of the various bulges and the absence of bulges which went to make up its shaggy contours. We know that in the winter of 1832-33 he heard with great delight a paper read by Sir William Hamilton in Edinburgh which Carlyle declared, "completely demolished" George Combe.[1] Perhaps the nearest Carlyle ever came to using the methods of phrenology was in his judgement on John Henry Newman. In 1879, soon after Newman had been made a Cardinal, the old Carlyle in talking with William Darwin, son of Charles, is reported to have said of Newman: "He is a kind, affectionate man, who hopes to creep into Heaven under the Pope's petticoats"; and then to have added: "but he has no occiput." Young Darwin investigated and discovered that Woolner's bust of Newman actually showed that he had no back to his head.[2] When we place beside Carlyle's comment here the remark which Froude said that he once made to him, namely, that Cardinal Newman did not have "the intellect of a moderate-sized rabbit",[3] we may conclude that Carlyle still had a long

[1] Wylie, p. 152.
[2] Wilson, *Carlyle*, vi. 448.
[3] Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 450-1. See also Duffy, pp. 220-1.

way to go before he achieved the nicely phrased and delicately delineated interpretations of scientific phrenology. Furthermore, it was not on the basis of the peculiar shape of Newman's head in the back that Carlyle judged him; rather, it was because of what went on in the front of it.

The methods which he did use have much of intuitive judgement in them and something of the reading of character through the old-fashioned study of physiognomy. We are told that when G. F. Watts was painting Carlyle's portrait he found it impossible, even after he had summoned his strongest arguments, to get his subject to agree with him on two points: first, that art was worth something beyond the historical record which it could give; and second, that physiognomy was not always to be trusted—that a high forehead or a long upper lip was not necessarily a sign of intellect or grey eyes of a contemplative temperament. D. A. Wilson, in commenting on this incident, says that Watts could never in this world have persuaded Carlyle that his Jane's long upper lip, which her adored father also had, was not an indication of intellectual strength.[1] When he was seeking for the most authentic likeness of John Knox and first gazed with delight upon the Somerville portrait, his comments were characteristic: "I never saw him before—now I understand the man. See how firm and upright he is. I like that mouth. He was one of the salt of the earth."[2] Yet it was not merely the face but the appearance and motions of the whole body which gave him hints. Coleridge's wobbling from one side of the path to the other as he walked filled him with disgust. And the *St. James Gazette* for 5 February 1881, gives an incident concerning the way in which Carlyle judged a man that is so amusing that we can only hope that it is true:

> His shrewdness, especially in judging of character from small indications, was extraordinary. He once denounced, as a scoundrel, a man of business, who, at the time, was in the best repute, and who, shortly afterwards, turned out to deserve all that he had said against him. "How", he was asked, "did you find him out, Mr. Carlyle?" "Oh," said he, "I saw rogue in the twist of the false hip of him as he went out at the door."[3]

[1] *Carlyle*, vi. 130-1.
[2] Ibid. p. 329. See also p. 316.
[3] Quoted by Wylie, p. 218.

The gift of metaphor which Carlyle believed that he had inherited from his father served him very well indeed in his portraits. It often enabled him to suggest a single unifying effect through a few words and to throw the emphasis skilfully upon the one important detail or quality. It also helps to explain why his portraits are almost never stereotyped. The following words, taken from a letter to his mother, 11 June 1837, leaves us with a somewhat different impression of King William IV from that which we usually encounter in history :

> The King is by many said to be dying here ; dropsy in the heart. Poor old fellow, I saw him about a fortnight ago, coming in from Windsor through Hyde Park : he looked fresh and decent ; clean as from spring water. The little boys cried : " Ha, old Billy, how d'you do ? " [1]

The simile of the fresh spring water combined with the delightfully humanizing greeting of the little boys works a kind of magic in this picture. Louis Napoleon is treated just as skilfully but does not fare so well intrinsically in the following portrait, in which, after a series of interesting details, one bold metaphor takes over and dominates the picture :

> Met him at dinner—he made up to me rather, understanding me to be a writer, who might perhaps be of help to him somehow. His talk was a puddle of revolutionary nonsense. He was internally a mass of darkness. I used to meet him often in the street, mostly about Sloane Square, driving a cab, with a little tiger behind ; his face had a melancholy look that was rather affecting at first, but I soon recognised that it was the sadness of an Opera Singer who cannot get an engagement. When I heard of him afterwards as Emperor, I said to myself, " Gad, sir, you've got an opera engagement such as no one could possibly have expected ! " [2]

We are left with the impression that substantially the French Emperor from first to last was nothing and that he could appear otherwise only through acting a rôle. Carlyle refuses to be impressed by the mere size of Shelley's friend, Edward Trelawney, as suggested by the metaphor in the following passage : " The Buller rout had Trelawney for lion, a huge black-whiskered, beetle-browed column of a man (carrying nothing that I valued)." [3] Likewise, he uses a single fundamental image to

[1] *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. Alexander Carlyle (London and New York : John Lane, 1904), i. 79-80.

[2] Allingham's *Diary*, p. 261.

[3] Letter to Dr. John Carlyle, 14 July 1836 (*New Letters*, i. 14).

annihilate George Sand and her followers: "The French literature of G. Sand and Co., which many people told me was a new-birth, I found to be a detestable putrifaction,—new-life of nothing but maggots and blue-bottles." [1] The same device is used in the condemnation of Heine as a "filthy, foetid sausage of spoiled victuals".[2] A single image also dominates Carlyle's description of Southey as being all leanness and long legs, looking when he rose from his chair like a lean pair of tongs.[3] Many of these metaphors suggest the fireside, the barnyard, and the surrounding hill country of Carlyle's boyhood.

A surprising number of the metaphors in Carlyle's characterizations refer, like those in *King Lear*, to animals and birds. They are used, for instance, to intensify the unfavourable impression which he had received of Charles Babbage, the mechanical genius and mathematician: "Babbage continues eminently unpleasant to me, with his frog mouth and viper eyes, with his hide-bound, wooden irony, and the acridest egotism looking through it." [4] Jeremy Bentham is "a rhinoceros—strong and clumsy".[5] Benjamin Jowett is "a poor little good-humoured owlet of a body,—'Oxford Liberal', and very conscious of being so; not knowing right hand from left otherwise".[6] Two leading Oxford High Churchmen fare even worse than Jowett: "Your two Oxford 'Dignitaries' are interesting scarecrows; hard to say which is uglier,—Pusey with his praying [?] suffering contracted weazel countenance, Sewel[l] with his small triumphant ferret one." [7] Herbert Spencer is dismissed as "an immeasurable

[1] Undated letter to John Forster, written about 1844, in the collection of autograph letters in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[2] Wilson, *Carlyle*, vi. 23. Wilson also says that Carlyle, in talk with Sir M. E. Grant Duff, "tore up" Matthew Arnold for speaking of Heine as the "continuator" of Goethe.

[3] Letter to Dr. John Carlyle, 23 March 1835, in Norton, *Letters of Carlyle, 1826-1836*, pp. 504-5; Letter to Alexander Carlyle, 27 February 1835, ibid. p. 496.

[4] Froude, *Carlyle in London*, i. 171.

[5] Letter to Matthew Allen, 7 June 1820. Original in the John Rylands Library (Eng. MS. 336/2.) Published in Richard Garnett's "Eight Unpublished Letters of Thomas Carlyle", *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* (N.S.), ii (1899), 317 ff.

[6] Letter to Dr. John Carlyle, 22 August 1859, in *New Letters*, ii. 200.

[7] Letter of 23 September 1841 in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. Quoted with permission.

ass ".[1] G. H. Lewes, to Carlyle another extremely ugly man, is " *Ape* Lewes " or " hairy Lewes ", rather ludicrous in his rôle of gallant, Adonis, and conqueror of hearts in George Eliot's life drama.[2] Although Carlyle had some praise for Walt Whitman after reading *Democratic Vistas*, in general he could not like him : " If you could endow the parish bull with the faculty of human utterance and holding a pen between the halves of his hoof, *this*, I imagine, is much the thing he would write ", he wrote to Charles Eliot Norton of Whitman's poetry.[3] When he visited Connop Thirlwall in 1843, he was greatly but not altogether favourably impressed by Thirlwall's chaplain, whom he describes as follows :

> Turned of forty ; lean and yellow ; has boiled big eyes ; a neck head and nose giving you a notion of a gigantic human Snipe. Is not that a beauty ? . . . We are alone all but this Sucker-Chaplain or Snipe.[4]

Although these comparisons with animals and birds often bring out unfavourable or unpleasant features and characteristics of Carlyle's subjects, Monckton Milnes' cheerful good-nature, liveliness, and smallness of stature are all suggested by Carlyle's delightful description of him as " a pretty little robin-redbreast of a man ".[5] Sometimes the metaphor may be involved in dramatic action, as in the following account of Carlyle's clash with the well-known radical, J. A. Roebuck :

[1] Wilson, *Carlyle*, iv. 385.

[2] Duffy, pp. 222-3 ; Letter to Dr. John Carlyle, 2 November 1854, from the unpublished original in the National Library of Scotland. In a letter to his sister Mrs. Aitken, 25 April 1850, Carlyle spoke of " a certain *dramatic* G. H. Lewes, an airy loose-tongued merry-hearted being, with more sail than ballast " (*New Letters*, ii. 93-4). Yet Francis Espinasse says that Carlyle spoke of Lewes as " the Prince of Journalists " (*Literary Recollections* (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1893), p. 282.)

[3] Letter dated 2 December 1875. The original is in the Houghton Library at Harvard. See also Moncure D. Conway, *Thomas Carlyle* (New York : Harper, 1881), p. 100 ; and Allingham's *Diary*, 3 October 1872, p. 212.

[4] Letter to his wife, 19 July 1843, in Trudy Bliss's *Thomas Carlyle : Letters to His Wife* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 173. Carlyle says further that this " portentous human snipe " reminds him of C. H. Terrot, Bishop of Edinburgh. See Bliss, p. 115. The historian Lecky with his long neck is always a giraffe in Carlyle's letters.

[5] Letter to Emerson, 1 April 1840, in *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, i. 302. Carlyle spoke of Milnes as " one of the idlest, cheeriest most gifted of fat little men " in a letter to Emerson of 30 December 1847 (ibid. ii. 188).

He is practising as Advocate now, that little Roebuck, as lean, acrid, contentious and loquacious as ever. He flew at me, do what I would, some three or four times, like a kind of cockatrice,—had to be swept back again ; far more to the *general* entertainment than to mine. He does not fly into a shriek like Maurice, that is his quality ; but he is a very impertinent little unproductive gentleman ; and I suppose has *made* many a man incline to shriek. We parted good friends,—with small wish on my part or his to meet again.[1]

Closely related to the use of a dominating image is Carlyle's fondness for epithets which, having once attached themselves to their subjects, are repeated again and again in the same or varied forms. "Sea-green Robespierre", "Mirabeau the Lion's whelp", "Ol' Clo' Disraeli", and the "People's William Gladstone" are familiar examples of this device. How remarkably ingenious Carlyle's use of it may be is well illustrated by the following passage from a letter of 1823 to Jane Welsh in which two sequences of such epithets—the one suggesting littleness, the other suggesting brisk, meaningless activity—are combined with faint praise and abundant metaphor to damn one of his rivals for her hand, Dr. Fyffe, who was from her home town, Haddington :

The coach had just reached Workman's door in Moffat, and I was sitting calmly on my place, reposing after a hard ride on horseback of nearly 20 miles, when a voice below pronounced my name in a tone of gladness ; and whose should the voice be but your little Doctorkin's ! It was Fyffe himself travelling like a weaver's shuttle from Edinburgh and back to it : He took his place beside me on the roof, and we journeyed together. "Miss Welsh, Sir," said he, "arrived at her Grandfather's the night before last." This joyful intelligence was given with an air of knowingness and self-sufficiency which I relished very little. The topic of "Miss Welsh" I studied to avoid for the rest of the day. This Fyffe is a jewel of a creature ; made of the kindliest clay, feels good will towards many persons, ill will towards none ; and his little spirit mounts and swells and whirls about with all the briskness of the freshest can of penny-beer. I cannot but admire the man, a little more would make me envy him. The lion is ruler of the forest, but the squirrel leads a merrier life : one had sometimes rather be the squirrel. I shall always entertain a species of affection for your Doctor : he is of the *genus* cricket, and I like all crickets.[2]

It is difficult to see how the energetic little doctor could have had much of a chance with the fair lady after this. As a matter of fact, we know that he did not.

[1] Letter to his wife, 10 April 1841, from the original letter in possession of the Marchioness of Crewe, London.

[2] *Love Letters*, i. 220-1. In Jane Welsh's letter to Carlyle of 15 April 1824, she calls Fyffe "Dr. Thumb" (Wilson, *Carlyle*, i. 323).

Another standard device for delineating character which Carlyle did not fail to use is that of comparing or contrasting one person with another. When he meets Fonblanque, famous editor of the *Examiner*, in 1831, " something metallic in the tone of his voice " reminded him of the voice of Professor John Austin.[1] The following passage from a letter to Emerson skilfully combines the use of character foils with metaphor in treating Frederic Henry Hedge and Carlyle's publisher, Chapman :

> Hedge is one of the sturdiest little fellows I have come across for many a day. A face like a rock ; a voice like a howitzer ; only his honest kind gray eyes reassure you a little. . . . Hedge came to me with tall lank Chapman at his side,—an innocent flail of a creature, with considerable impetus in him : the two when they stood up together looked like a circle and tangent,—in more senses than one.[2]

There is pathos in a letter of 1836 to his brother John in which he speaks of how two living friends, John Sterling and Henry Taylor, suggest to him complementary sides of a very dear dead one :

> He [Sterling] and Taylor often seem to me very strangely like the two *halves* of Edward Irving, living apart ; it is a singular feeling, of sight and remembrance, of sadness and kindliness. My poor Irving is snatched away from me : away, away ![3]

The most striking characteristic of Carlyle's portraits, however, is his way of dominating his subjects completely, in every instance and in every detail. Here again he suggests Rembrandt and even Chaucer. From the Queen of England down to the gruesome corpse of a lowly workman which Carlyle gazed upon in a Paris morgue, all that came before his eye was instantaneously seized upon as subservient to his emotions and artistic imagination and subject to the interpretations and judgements dictated by his clearly defined sense of values. In this respect, the portraits are simply like everything else that Carlyle touched in his long life. The habit of dominance was not merely in every stroke made by his pen but in his very appearance. Emerson observed it early ; and shortly after

[1] *Two Notebooks*, pp. 213-14.
[2] 31 August 1847 (*Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, ii. 170-1).
[3] *New Letters*, i. 5.

Carlyle made his inaugural address as Lord Rector at the University of Edinburgh in 1866, the Secretary of the University, Alexander Smith, commented significantly :

> Altogether, in his aspect there was something aboriginal, as of a piece of unhewn granite, which had never been polished to any approved pattern, whose natural and original vitality had never been tampered with. In a word, there seemed to be no passivity about Mr. Carlyle ; he was the diamond, and the world was his pane of glass.[1]

His portraits, therefore, are the product of his " veracity " with a difference—the difference made by the intensely active mind through which they have passed. They are appraisal portraits which clearly reflect Carlyle's very definite system of values.

The quality of such highly individualized work depends largely upon the quality of the mind and hand which produces it—upon the trustworthiness of the artist's power of observation, the degree with which he may act responsibly with a sense of fidelity to his subject, the extent to which he has achieved skill in the technique of presentation, and the acceptability of the system of values by which he judges his subjects. The artist's complete dominance of his subject may simply result in misrepresentation and distortion unless he can measure up to very exacting requirements. The question is whether Carlyle does so. There are those who emphatically think that he does not. Let Professor René Wellek speak competently for them :

> On the whole, Carlyle's sense of individuality and human personality seems grossly exaggerated by his enthusiasts. . . . Carlyle rarely enters a man's mind sympathetically : he frequently is content with sketching his external physiognomy, with a " flame-picture " or, at worst, with the lurid light of the theatre or the grimace of a caricature. His portraits of Coleridge or Lamb are the achievements of a superb caricaturist, his sneering condemnations of Shelley, Keats, Hazlitt, or August Wilhelm Schlegel mere ventings of prejudice and spite. Carlyle's narrow range of sympathy is in itself a contradiction of the true " historic spirit " and must account for the most repulsive traits of his adoration of mere power, which comes out in his attitude to the Irish or Polish question, to the Negroes or the Czechs.[2]

Undoubtedly his opinions were dogmatic, his feelings were often violent, and his art unusually bold. His reactions to people were

[1] Wilson, *Carlyle*, vi. 49.

[2] " Carlyle and the Philosophy of History ", *Philological Quarterly*, xxiii (January, 1944), 73-4.

definite and vigorous, and he made little effort to control and subdue his feelings. What the old Carlyle in 1875 told Allingham about his attitude toward Cardinal Manning is thoroughly characteristic of him :

> I have often been invited to places with the temptation of meeting Manning ; but he is perhaps of all human creatures the one I would most decidedly refuse to meet. If we did, it might possibly end in actual blows, old as I am.[1]

Is this the unpredictable, intensified crankiness and intensified spleen of a lifelong dyspeptic, or is it the firm and unyielding integrity of a great artist and man ? Whatever else it is, it is consistent. Carlyle had his moods, but they had remarkably little effect on his convictions, judgements, and attitude toward people.

Carlyle's intimate friend Sir Charles Gavan Duffy says that Carlyle could never have brought himself to the point of deliberately misrepresenting or falsifying a subject which he was painting :

> I knew that one of his most notable gifts was the power of making by a few touches a likeness of a man's moral or physical aspect, not easily forgotten. His portraits were not always free from a strain of exaggeration, but they were never malicious, never intentionally caricatured ; they represented his actual estimate of the person in question.[2]

Duffy was an Irishman who had known what it was to suffer from Carlyle's frank expression of his low opinion of most Irishmen. He had an independent mind and had many times maintained his opinions in the face of opposite ones held by his friend. If we may accept his assertion that Carlyle was never wilful and irresponsible in portraying his subjects, as I think we may, we may proceed to examine his values and ask whether Carlyle knew a good man when he saw one.

When Emerson made that remarkable early visit to Carlyle at Craigenputtock in 1833, he drew Carlyle out precisely in

[1] *Diary*, p. 240. We are reminded of Dr. Johnson again, particularly of his manner of dealing with James Macpherson. This kind of rough-grained individualism seems to have gone out of fashion. My students are often shocked at the behaviour of Johnson and Carlyle, and they would scarcely approve of that of Cavaignac described below. Yet many pride themselves upon their non-conformity.

[2] *Conversations with Carlyle*, p. 50.

reference to this question. About one week later Emerson recorded what he had found out in a letter to Alexander Ireland :

> But his respect for eminent men, or rather his scale of eminence, is about the reverse of the popular scale. Scott, Macintosh, Jeffrey, Gibbon,—even Bacon —are no heroes of his ; stranger yet, he hardly admires Socrates, the glory of the Greek world ; but Burns, and Samuel Johnson, and Mirabeau, he said interested him, and I suppose whoever else has given himself with all his heart to a leading instinct, and has not *calculated* too much.[1]

Carlyle's luke-warm attitude toward Socrates we must attempt to explain later. But his judgement of Scott, Jeffrey, and Bacon, taken with Emerson's words about giving oneself entirely to a leading instinct and not calculating too much, suggests one of the chief criteria by which Carlyle judged people. He could not admire people who surrendered to the values of what he called the " world ", even if it became known as civilization, or who allowed their original force to be tamed by it. And to attempt to fight fire with fire, to pit one's own counter schemes against the complex and ever-ramifying schemes of the world, or as it were to try to outwit the world, was a kind of surrender to it, which always proved to be futile and foolish. Carlyle liked men who faced the world squarely and defied it. His own father, he believed, was such a man. Cromwell was another. Burns and Samuel Johnson also had been such men. Among his own contemporaries Carlyle was pleased to find this untamable quality in a highly bred Frenchman, Godefroy Cavaignac. He wrote to Mill, 2 May 1836 :

> Cavaignac . . . strikes me as the best Frenchman by many degrees whom I have met with. A courageous energetic man, with much free Nature and *bonhomie* in his composition ; really a Son of Nature, tho' French and in this time.[2]

Almost a year later he wrote to his brother :

> By the bye, I continue to find Cavaignac a most true-hearted well gifted, natural genuine wild man and Frenchman ; on the whole, one of the best Brother men I fall in with here. He comes about once in the ten days ; a wild proud man ; who takes considerably to me.[3]

[1] *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, i. 5.

[2] *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling, and Robert Browning*, ed. Alexander Carlyle (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1923), p. 124.

[3] 23 April 1837 (*New Letters*, i. 70).

In the following vignette of a comically dramatic scene in a London drawing room Carlyle lets us see Cavaignac in action. It is in a letter of 24 July 1836 to Carlyle's wife. The " world " to be avoided in this instance was Mrs. George Grote, wife of the historian, a formidably large woman known for her lion-hunting and boring talk.

> But before quitting Cavaignac, I must tell you a thing I *saw* at Mrs. Buller's rout, but did not *discern* till a day or two after. Charles Buller led Cavaignac away to introduce him to a large lady, whom I afterwards perceived to be Mrs. Grote : Cavaignac went, without struggling, tho' verily like a sheep led to the slaughter ; the presentation performed, he made I think *five* successive bows to Mrs. Grote (a very shower of rapid bows) ; then, without uttering a word, reeled back, like a sheep *from* the slaughter (or a *calf*, for you know how he *goes*), and landing in a very elegant attitude, stood, five paces off, with his hat behind his back, looking out into space, and the general movement of the rout,—this whole Introduction, Acquaintance, Friendship being begun, carried on, finished, and abolished with such incredible brevity as I describe. It was two days before this phenomenon presented itself rightly before me ; and it has tickled me ever since.[1]

Mrs. Carlyle, whose judgement of men usually agreed with that of her husband, expresses admiration for the same quality when, after she had once been bored by a visit of several hours by a bishop, probably " Soapy Sam Wilberforce ", bishop of Winchester, she exclaimed : " Bah ! I wish I could snort like Cavaignac." [2]

It was the lack of this kind of individual strength and power of resistance which had greatly weakened Jeffrey, Scott, and Bacon, and had rendered the journalist and critic John Wilson (" Christopher North ") almost completely impotent. Carlyle wrote of Wilson in 1833 : " There is no man in the Island who has so wasted himself : a mass of Power standing on *no* basis ; drifted about by every breath ; lamed into the despicablest weakness." [3] Bryan Procter (" Barry Cornwall "), with his languid looks and the " dreamy mildness in his eye ", was doomed to be a small poet, for his heart and intellect were not strong.[4]

[1] *New Letters*, i. 19. [2] *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, i. 155.

[3] Letter to J. S. Mill, 18 April 1833 (*Letters of Carlyle to Mill, Sterling, and Browning*, p. 45).

[4] *Love Letters*, i. 375. There is an important passage on Proctor in an unpublished letter of Carlyle to John Forster, 26 October 1874, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

On the other hand, Carlyle found precisely the kind of personal force and strength which he admired in Christ, so badly misrepresented, he thought, by the smooth, serene, peaceful pictures of the Italian Renaissance :

> I do not find Christ that pound of fresh-butter character, which people have made of him. On the contrary, He is a man with a great deal of anger in Him ; but the anger all on the right side. He always has a sharp word to return to the Pharisees. When one who has kept the Ten Commandments asks Him whether that is enough, He tells him no—" Leave all thy riches and follow after me." He goes to the Temple, and becomes indignant at the buyers and sellers there, and upsets their stalls with a kick of His foot, and takes a scourge and drives the money-dealers out of the holy place !—I thought if anybody in our days should go in our Court of Chancery and do the like there, people would give him a different character from that of a pound of fresh-butter ! [1]

To attempt to escape from the world was fully as weak as to surrender to it. Because Keats did not, he believed, show fortitude and courage in facing what was unpleasant, Carlyle could not join his friend Milnes in hearty admiration for the poet.[2] Socrates, if we may now return to him, seemed at times something of an escapist to Carlyle, taking his ease in the shady groves of the Academy and along the cool banks of the River Ilisus as he gave his mind to the delightful anodyne of his lovely dialectic.[3]

Carlyle looked for what was solid and substantial in personality and for what yielded practical results in human activities. One extremely valuable practical result was that which brought order out of chaos. Writing to his brother Alexander in Canada on 3 July 1847, Carlyle said :

[1] Letter to Joseph Neuberg, 12 January 1850 (Sadler, op cit. p. 283).

[2] Allingham's *Diary*, p. 205.

[3] Even Matthew Arnold, we know, was inclined to agree with the statement attributed to Carlyle that Socrates was " too much at ease in Zion " (*Culture and Anarchy*, Chapter IV). I have not found such a statement by Carlyle in writing, but he may very well have said it. John Burroughs reports that he once said to John Sterling, " Woe to them that are at ease in Zion " ; but Burroughs also says of Carlyle : " His own genius came nearer the demon of Socrates than that of any modern man " (Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 581). Carlyle once in talking with Holman Hunt included Socrates in a list of those " brave-hearted creatures . . . who have helped to make us something better than wild beasts of rapine and havoc ", who teach others to bear life " with patience and faith " ; and who have " won or lost in the struggle to do what they deemed the justest and wisest thing " (ibid. iv. 488). See also ibid. i. 153, and Allingham, *Diary*, p. 213.

> And train the children, each in its own little garden, to respect fruit-trees, honourable profit, *industry*, *beauty*, and *good-order*: it is the summary of all Gospels to man![1]

Were these merely the values which strengthened and confirmed the Victorian middle class, Matthew Arnold's Philistines, in their ways? Carlyle includes beauty in his short list of highest values. The question whether he himself had a deficient sense of beauty is an important one, but it is much too difficult and complex to be dealt with adequately here. Two brief comments on the subject may be helpful. In the first place, Carlyle did not like to talk about beauty or hear others talk about it. He did not believe that those who talked about beauty most were sure to reach the level of the highest artists any more than that those who talk about Heaven most are sure to go there. In the second place, his sense of beauty was very much like Browning's. Reality was highly complex to both, and they frequently discovered beauty amid surroundings which appeared strange, uncongenial, even grotesque. They sought for reality first and would not sift it in order to find and keep apart the pure grains of beauty. Nevertheless many of Carlyle's portraits are lit up by intensely lovely flashes of beauty. As for order, the instinct for it was highly developed in Carlyle's nature. In the age of the Gothic revival, he cared nothing for Westminster Abbey but carried down to old age the feeling of wonder and admiration with which he first gazed upon St. Paul's. "It was and is", he told Allingham in 1874, "the grandest building I ever saw."[2] And he never grew tired of praising his wife for the skilful management which made it possible for him to live in an orderly household in Chelsea. Such values as these compose the essential fabric of ideas in *Past and Present*.

And undoubtedly they count for much in the portraits. Samuel Wilberforce, he believed, had neither individual integrity nor substantiality in his nature; and so Carlyle dismisses him as one who "has got all he has by pure soapiness, suppleness, and sycophancy".[3] Witty spoof was no better substitute than frothy soapsuds for substantiality. Hence Carlyle's rejection of

[1] *New Letters*, ii. 38.
[2] *Diary*, p. 233.
[3] Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 65, 450.

Sydney Smith as an extremely boring person with an everlasting desire and effort to be witty.[1] Hence also one of Carlyle's even more shocking heresies, his rejection of Charles Lamb. He was thrown with Lamb more than once on his visit to London in 1831 and was always filled with disgust. Here is a passage from a letter of 29 August 1831 :

> We saw Charlie Lamb (Elia) at tea : a miserable, drunk-besotted, spindle-shanked skeleton of a body ; whose " humour ", as it is called, seemed to me neither more nor less than a fibre of genius shining thro' positive delirium and crack-brainedness (*verrücktheit*), and would be to me the most intolerable of all nuisances.[2]

After seeing more of Lamb, he made a detailed entry in his *Notebook* (2 November 1831) :

> How few people speak for Truth's sake, even in its humblest modes ! I return from Enfield, where I have seen Lamb, etc., etc. Not one of that class will tell you a straightforward story, or even a credible one, about any matter under the sun. All must be perked up into epigrammatic contrasts, startling exaggerations, claptraps that will get a plaudit from the galleries ! I have heard a hundred anecdotes about W. Hazlitt (for example) ; yet cannot, by never so much cross-questioning even, form to myself the smallest notion of how it really stood with him. Wearisome, inexpressibly wearisome to me is that sort of clatter : it is not walking (to the end of time you would never advance, for these persons indeed have no Whither) ; it is not bounding and frisking in graceful natural joy ; it is dancing—a St. Vitus dance. Heighho!—
>
> Charles Lamb I sincerely believe to be in some considerable degree *insane*. A more pitiful, ricketty, gasping, staggering, stammering Tom fool I do not know. He is witty by denying truisms, and abjuring good manners. His speech wriggles hither and thither with an incessant painful fluctuation ; not an opinion in it or a fact or even a phrase that you can thank him for : more like a convulsion fit than natural systole and diastole.—Besides he is now a confirmed shameless drunkard ; *asks* vehemently for gin-and-water in strangers' houses ; tipples until he is utterly mad, and is only not thrown out of doors because he is too much despised for taking such trouble with him. Poor Lamb ! Poor England where such a despicable abortion is named genius !—He said : There are just two things I regret in English History ; first that Guy Faux's plot did not take effect (there would have been so glorious an *explosion*) ; second that the Royalists did not hang Milton (then we might have laughed at them) ; etc., etc.[3]

He never changed his mind about Lamb. Many years later he spoke to Duffy about Lamb's " fantastic method of looking at things ". There was no practical sense in him, Carlyle said,

[1] Allingham, *Diary*, p. 236.
[2] To his wife (Bliss, p. 64).
[3] *Two Notebooks*, pp. 217-19.

and he had formed the habit of turning into quips and jests whatever turned up; hence he was an ill example to younger men, who had to live their lives in a world which was altogether serious.[1] In the late 1870s he still refused to yield to the slightest degree after W. H. Wylie warmly maintained that Lamb's humour was admirable. Lamb had no humour, Carlyle said; he had "only a thin streak of Cockney wit". He had known "scores of Scotch moorland farmers who for *humour* could have blown Lamb into the zenith!" The only thing really humorous about Lamb was his personal appearance: "His suit of rusty black, his spindle-shanks, his knee-breeches, the bit ribbons fleein' at the knees o' him: indeed he was humour personified!" And Carlyle ended, "Poor silly cratur!"[2]

Shelley, whom Carlyle never saw, he found even less substantial than Lamb. He was a poor shrieking creature who had said or sung nothing worth remembering. Carlyle was both blunt and frank in a letter to Browning of about 1850, when Browning still had almost unreserved enthusiasm for Shelley:

> I am not sure but you would excommunicate me if I told you all I thought of Shelley. Poor soul, he has always seemed to me an extremely weak creature; a poor, thin, spasmodic, hectic, shrill and pallid being. . . . The very voice of him (his style, etc.), shrill, shrieky, to my ear has too much of the ghost![3]

To Milnes he described Shelley in similar terms:

> Shelley is always mistaking spasmodic violence for strength. I know no more *urned* books than his. It is like the writing of a ghost, uttering infinite wail into the night, unable to help itself or anyone else.[4]

To Carlyle, Swinburne was unsubstantial like Lamb and Shelley. His verses were froth, "a fuzz of words", and there was "not the least intellectual value in anything he writes".[5]

[1] *Conversations with Carlyle*, p. 86. [2] *Thomas Carlyle*, pp. 331-3.

[3] Wilson, *Carlyle*, iv. 110.

[4] *Ibid.* See also Duffy, pp. 63-4. Carlyle's opinion of Hazlitt, too, was low. "Have been reading Hazlitt's *Table Talk:* an incessant chew-chewing, the Nut never cracked, nothing but teeth broken and bleeding gums. The man has thought much; even intently and with vigour: but he has discovered nothing. One other sacrifice to the Time!" (*Two Notebooks*, pp. 213, 217-19).

[5] Wilson, *Carlyle*, vi. 137-8; Allingham, *Diary*, p. 258. Wylie (p. 315) reports that Swinburne replied to some of Carlyle's criticism by saying that the old man's words were the "sewerage of Sodom" and that "a foul mouth is ill matched with a white beard".

Far more formidable to Carlyle, however, than the thin insubstantiality of a Lamb, a Shelley, or a Swinburne, was an emptiness, which, fortified behind the ostentation of vanity and the power of official position, could be wilfully perverse and could even obstruct those who wished to do useful work. Shelley's insubstantiality in its most inane and thin form was never in league with what Carlyle called "the world"; but there was a much more serious show of negative qualities which "the world" supported with fanfare and display of pride. Carlyle found it in Sir Anthony Panizzi, Keeper of Printed Books and later Chief Librarian of the British Museum. And his battle against Panizzi was a losing one. Very recently he has been highly praised in the columns of the London *Times Literary Supplement* as one of the great builders of the British Museum Library.[1] The history of Carlyle's various conflicts with him is complex and cannot be fully discussed here, where we must concern ourselves with what he seemed to be to Carlyle, and with the values which Carlyle used in judging him. From the beginning to the end of his literary career, Carlyle was confronted, as many other writers and scholars have been, with the problem of gaining access to the books which he needed and of finding a satisfactory place in which to work with them. He was thus greatly interested in library problems as such, as many important incidents in his life testify, such as his delight in using the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh in his early days and his leadership, about 1840, in founding the London Library. He was clearly convinced, moreover, that the chief duty of those who were officials in libraries was to do all they could to make it possible for readers to work with the books which they needed in a satisfactory place of study. Panizzi, he believed, did just

[1] 17 June 1955: "Great British Libraries—V: The British Museum Library —I", p. 338. "Panizzi's temperament and methods brought him at times into conflict with both staff and trustees, yet the library owes more to him than to any other individual." Francis Espinasse, who for a time worked under Panizzi in the British Museum, presents him in an extremely unfavourable light in his *Literary Recollections*. He describes him as "a big, boisterous, rather blustering man, with likes and still more with dislikes, a dangerous foe, and if he was also a helpful patron his patronage was generally bestowed on those in whom he found subserviency and sycophancy united to mediocrity". See pp. 15, 72-3, and all of Chapter II, "The British Museum Library Fifty Years Ago, and After".

the opposite; was chiefly concerned with rules, red-tape, and facts and figures concerning the growth of his library; and all in all was the most terrible ogre Carlyle ever encountered in dealing with such problems. Before he finally plunged into what he always considered the twelve-year-long nightmare of trying to write the life of Frederick the Great, he had hoped to write on an English subject instead, perhaps John Knox, but Panizzi and those in league with him seemed to block the way:

24 October 1851

Panizzi and the whole world (which Panizzi accurately enough represents) are a formidable barrier against any earnest work of the historical kind.[1]

14 November 1851

Being English,—I had much rather have an English hero, if it pleased Panizzi and Company,—which, alas, it does not do, nor can do! I find Panizzi the true representative of English dillettantism, Pedantry, Babblement, and hollow dining and drinking Nonsense of so-called "Literature" in this epoch; and therefore I have forgiven, or endeavoured to forgive, the poor Man, fatal to me as he and the like of him have been and are.[2]

Working in the general reading room of the British Museum always gave him a headache, and he did not enjoy being bitten by the fleas which flourished there in great numbers. Once the decision to write on Frederick had been made, however, Carlyle swallowed his pride and applied to Panizzi in writing for the privilege of working in the quiet rooms where George III's library was stored. He was promptly refused, and in the long period in which he worked on Frederick had to depend mainly on his two friends Henry Larkin and Joseph Neuberg to do his research in the British Museum. (They did not seem to get the headaches or complain about the fleas.) Some of his comments are as follows:

17 August 1853

Panizzi, whom I do not love, and who returns the feeling, *will* not, though solicited from various quarters—high quarters some of them—admit me to the silent rooms of the King's Library, to a place where I *could* read and inquire. Never mind! No matter at all! Perhaps it is even better so. I believe that I could explode the poor monster if I took to petitioning, writing in the "Times," etc. But I shall take good heed of that. Intrinsically he hinders me but little. Intrinsically the blame is not in him, but in the prurient darkness and confused

[1] *New Letters*, ii. 115-16.

[2] To Lady Ashburton, in Wilson's *Carlyle*, v. 23.

pedantry and ostentatious inanity of the world which put him there, and which I must own he very fairly represents and symbolizes there. Lords Lansdowne and Brougham put Panizzi in ; and the world with its Hansards and ballot-boxes and sublime apparatus put in Lords Lansdowne and Brougham.[1]

8 September 1853

George the Third's modest, solid and excellent Library is *worth* far more than Panizzi's huge expensive unsound and ostentatious one, and calls for a blessing yet on the faithful and really human soul of that simple King (instead of a *non-blessing* on certain other *in*human, pedantic, and merely showman souls).[2]

As time went by and he became more and more involved in his task, his misery also increased. On 23 September 1855 he wrote that he was working on " a history of Fritz which no Man *can* write, even if Vulture Panizzi were to offer pens from his own ugly person ".[3]

Where Carlyle found substantiality and intelligent honesty and practicality, he bestowed his praise freely. In his early reading he found these qualities in John Hampden and George Washington :

26 March 1822

Hampden and Washington are the two people best *loved* of any in history. Yet they had few illustrious qualities about them ; only a high degree of shrewd business-like activity, and above all that honest-hearted unaffected *probity*, which we patriotically name *English*, in a higher degree than almost any public men commemorated in history.[4]

In one of his most intimate and helpful friends, John Chorley, there was no pedantry or froth but rather solid learning, very extensive in its nature, combined with abundant common sense and practical ability. He was the kind of man that Swift would have admired. At the time of Chorley's death in 1867, Carlyle gave him highest praise in a letter to his brother :

I know no man, nor shall ever again know, nearly so well-read, so widely and accurately informed, and so completely at home not only in all fields of worthy literature and scholarship, but in matters practical over and above.[5]

[1] Froude, *Carlyle in London*, ii. 137. Carlyle shrewdly assumes that Panizzi would enjoy publicity if he gave it to him.

[2] To Lord Ashburton, in Wilson's *Carlyle*, v. 45-6.

[3] To Lady Ashburton (ibid, p. 176). According to Wylie (p. 215), not only the Ashburtons but also George L. Craik and Payne Collier joined Carlyle in his complaint against Panizzi's management of the British Museum Library.

[4] *Two Notebooks*, 26 March 1822, p. 7.

[5] Wilson, *Carlyle*, vi. 133-4.

John Lockhart had his faults but also redeeming qualities of a very substantial sort :

> A hard, proud, but thoroughly honest, singularly intelligent, and also affectionate man, whom in the distance I esteemed more than perhaps he ever knew. Seldom did I speak to him ; but hardly ever without learning and gaining something.[1]

He was a " tough, elastic man ".[2] Bishop Connop Thirlwall also he could like as " a right solid honest-hearted man, full of knowledge and sense ".[3] Rintoul, a Scotch printer who had become editor and proprietor of the *Spectator*, was never very profound but even so had deeper insight than the other journalists of the day. He was a man " altogether free from romantic or visionary babblement or the ordinary echoes of parliamentary palaver ". What he wrote was never mere wind ; it always meant something. He was a diligent and upright man, and his *Spectator* was the best journal in England.[4] The Reverend Alexander Scott, likewise, he praised in a letter to Emerson as " one of the few distinguished thinkers of his time : a man of real intellect, earnestness, originality and depth ", one who " by no means tells his secret at once " but most certainly " has his secret, many curious secrets ".[5] David Laing too was a man whose " faithful solid accurate ways are worthy of all honour, a man whose head, moreover, was full of Scotch good sense and prudence."[6] The scientist Sir Richard Owen provided a striking contrast to the Lambs and Shelleys. He was a man " of huge coarse head, with projecting brow and chin (like a cheese in the *last* quarter), with a pair of large protrusive glittering eyes ", who nevertheless had real talent and worth :

> Hardly twice in London have I met with any articulate-speaking biped who told me a thirtieth-part so many things I knew not and wanted to know. It was

[1] *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, i. 107.

[2] Letter to Varnhagen von Ense, 8 June 1845 (*New Review*, vi (April 1892), 426). See also *Two Notebooks*, p. 249.

[3] Two letters to his wife, 18 and 19 July 1843 (Bliss, 169-71).

[4] Duffy, p. 85. See also Wylie, p. 165.

[5] Letter to Emerson, 30 June 1858. Original in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. Quoted with permission.

[6] Unpublished letter to Dr. John Carlyle, 11 May 1865, in the National Library of Scotland ; unpublished letter to C. E. Norton, 8 December 1873, in the Houghton Library, Harvard.

almost like to make me cry, to hear articulate human speech once more conveying real information to me,—not dancing on airy tiptoes, nowhence and nowhither, as the manner of the Cockney dialect is.[1]

Humour was another thing that Carlyle valued in people. Much has been written about his own vein of humour, his indebtedness to Swift and Sterne, and the power which his own loud, rich outbursts of laughter had to delight those who heard him talk.[2] When George Bancroft visited him in 1847, Carlyle was pleased to find in him " a certain small under-current of genial *humour*, or as it were *hidden laughter*, not noticed heretofore ".[3] He enjoyed the humour in Sir David Wilkie's pictures. They contained, he said, " a great broad energy of humour and sympathy ". Wilkie was a real painter, " alone among us since Hogarth's time ".[4] Carlyle also enjoyed humour in Dickens, in his readings especially. In Dickens, as in Garrick, the genius for humour manifested itself mainly in mimicry.[5] In Jane Welsh Carlyle, too, one of the qualities most endearing to him was her alert, sure sense of the ridiculous and habit of exploding nonsense with laughter. A fine sense of humour was also in Carlyle's early friend and benefactor, Edward Strachey, grandfather of Lytton Strachey, to whom the grandfather may have bequeathed something. Carlyle describes him as one who above all things " loved Chaucer, and kept reading him ". He was the colleague of Thomas Love Peacock and worked near him, so that the two were often found laughing together over the absurdities of the world. He had " a fine, tinkling, mellow-toned voice " and " a pretty vein of quiz ". Humour was a part of the armour with which he faced the world :

[He was] a man sharply impatient of pretence, of sham and untruth in all forms ; especially contemptuous of quality pretensions and affectations, which he scattered grinningly to the winds. Dressed in the simplest form, he walked

[1] Letter to his wife, 26 August 1842, in Bliss, pp. 155-6 ; letter to John Sterling, 29 August 1842, in *Letters of Carlyle to Mill, Sterling, and Browning*, pp. 257-8.

[2] See particularly T. W. Higginson, " Carlyle's Laugh ", *Atlantic Monthly*, xlviii (October 1881), 463-6 ; Wilson, *Carlyle*, vi. 386 ; and p.1, note 3.

[3] Letter to Emerson, 13 November 1847 (*Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, ii. 184).

[4] Froude, *Carlyle in London*, i. 330-1.

[5] Duffy, pp. 74-6 ; Wilson, *Carlyle*, iv. 126, 418 ; Froude, *Carlyle in London*, ii. 270.

daily to the India House and back [to Fitzroy Square], though there were fine carriages in store for the woman part ; scorned cheerfully " the general humbug of the world," and honestly strove to do his own bit of duty, spiced by Chaucer and what else of inward harmony or condiment he had. . . . A man of many qualities comfortable to be near.[1]

To Carlyle, the greatest wit of the day was Charles Buller, nephew of Strachey's wife and Carlyle's own pupil in the early Edinburgh days. Buller's wit, according to Carlyle, was not based on pure nonsense and insubstantiality like that of Charles Lamb. Buller was a man of great practical abilities, of integrity, of " a constant veracity of intellect and character ". Neither was it like the contrived wit of Sydney Smith, ostentatious and affected. It was a natural stream of brilliance flowing from the mind, " an airy winged turn of thought, flowing out in lambencies of beautiful spontaneous wit and fancy ". Buller expressed his inborn detestation of the base and false by " showering witty scorn upon it, . . . in which, indeed, I never saw his rival ". Yet Buller's was " a kindly, genial nature ; clear, productive, with a rare union of decision and benignity ". He died young, with what appeared to be a brilliant career in the direction of colonial affairs ahead of him. At his death Carlyle wrote to Lady Ashburton, 29 November 1848 :

Alas, alas, what sad tragedy is this,—the saddest, I think, that ever befell among friends of mine ! . . . And we shall never see that blithe face more. . . . His presence was cheering and beneficent to all, and hurtful and afflictive to none that lived. But to you, dear friend,—alas, it is a loss which I fear none of us can ever repair ! In his own form he was by far the brightest Soul in your circle, or indeed in all the World, that I know of.

Buller's humour was not merely intelligent and clever ; it was the product of a remarkable humanity, fully vitalized, glowing, warm, and substantial.[2]

The indefinable humanity which Carlyle found in Buller counts for much in various portraits as the artist evaluated his

[1] *Reminiscences*, ed. C. E. Norton (London and New York : Macmillan, 1887), ii. 124-5.

[2] *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, i. 113-14 ; letter to J. S. Mill, 19 November 1832, *Carlyle's Letters to Mill, Sterling, and Browning*, p. 23 ; Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 13-14 ; and Carlyle's " Death of Charles Buller ", *Examiner*, 2 December 1848. For a detailed discussion of Carlyle's relation to the Stracheys and Bullers and for other portraits of them, see my book *The Strachey Family* (Durham : Duke University Press, 1953), pp. 108-46, 321-2.

subjects. Carlyle sought it out wherever it could be found, had a quick eye to discover it or the lack of it, judged his subjects according to the degree of it which they possessed, and had great skill in suggesting in the portraits precisely how much humanity his subjects had. Here again his portraits remind us of Rembrandt's. This quality of humanity he thought of as traditional humanism has always thought of it both as whatever in man's nature may raise him above the level of the lower animals and as whatever liberated his faculties, allowed the natural man to function, and displayed him, fully alive, as a creature of the earth. Jesus he praised as " that grandest of all beings " who have helped to make us something better than " wild beasts of rapine and havoc ".[1] Goethe he acclaimed as " a *man*, not a *dwarf* of *letters* ".[2] " Be men ", he said to the other authors of the day, " before attempting to be *writers*." [3] To friends in his old age he said that he had " tried to put some humanity " into Frederick II but that it was hard work ".[4] One of his early disappointments came from his discovery of what seemed to be a fundamental lack of humanity in the poet Thomas Campbell, whose poems he had read with admiration. The poet had a smirk on his face like that of an auctioneer ; his eye had " the cold vivacity of a conceited worldling ; his talk was small, contemptuous, and shallow ; every detail of his dress proclaimed the literary dandy ". Carlyle declared, " The aspect of that man jarred the music of my mind for a whole day ". He concluded : " There is no living well of thought or feeling in him ; his head is a shop, not a manufactory ; and for his heart, it is as dry as a Greenock *kipper*." [5] The same fundamental deficiency appeared in John Wilson Croker. Carlyle wrote in 1851, " No viler mortal calls himself man than old Croker at this time " ; and he objected to an attack on Maurice, Kingsley, and other liberals which he had read in the *Quarterly Review* as " very beggarly Crokerism, all of copperas and gall and human *baseness* ".[6] Lacking humanity

[1] Wilson, *Carlyle*, iv. 488-9.

[2] Letter to Jane Welsh, 28 February 1825 (*Love Letters*, ii. 102).

[3] Letter to Jane Welsh, 9 January 1825 (ibid. ii. 63, 92). [4] Wylie, p. 268.

[5] Letter to Jane Welsh, 23 June 1824, *Love Letters*, i. 375, ii. 58 ; Allingham, *Diary*, pp. 236-7.

[6] Letter to Dr. John Carlyle, 7 October 1851 (*New Letters*, ii. 113).

too was the geologist Sir Charles Lyell, with his monotonous, uninspired voice and " the clear leaden twinkle of his small bead eyes ".[1] When Carlyle visited Sir William and Lady Beecher in County Cork, Ireland, he was astonished to find in Lady Beecher, formerly the famous actress, Eliza O'Neill, no suggestion of human warmth or gracious hospitality, but instead cold rigidity and formality. Her eyes were cold and cruel. Her air was silent, reserved, disagreeable. She sternly and rigorously imposed her character upon her whole household. She lived in constant obedience to what she called her duty and was a thrall to the Thirty-nine Articles.[2] Very different to Carlyle was a true saint, Martin Luther. When he saw a picture of Luther which he admired in Germany, he exclaimed : " Martin himself has a fine German face : eyes so frank and serious, a look as if he could take a cup of ale as well as wrestle down the devil in a handsome manner." [3] True humanity is never stiff or stuffy. One of the first Lady Ashburton's tributes to Carlyle himself is significant here. After a visit to Oxford in 1853, she said, " Coming back to the society of Carlyle after the dons at Oxford is like returning home from some conventional world to the human race ".[4] It is pleasant to know that Carlyle found plenty of unmistakable humanity in Turgenief, whom he got to know on his visits to England. He said, " A fine faculty is in that Russian big man ; the heart of him somewhat too *sensual*, but full of noble melancholy, and fine qualities ". Turgenief was good company and an excellent talker.[5] Carlyle's skill in suggesting what is indefinable in humanity is perhaps nowhere illustrated better than in his description of a corpse which he saw in Paris in 1824 :

> I turned aside into a small mansion with the name of *Morgue* upon it ; there lay the naked body of an old grey-headed artisan whom misery had driven to drown himself in the river ! His face wore the grim fixed scowl of despair ; his lean horny hands with their long ragged nails were lying by his sides ; his

[1] Wilson, *Carlyle*, iii. 125 ; letter to his wife, 9 June 1865 (Bliss, p. 378).
[2] Duffy, pp. 98-100.
[3] Froude, *Carlyle in London*, ii. 132.
[4] Wilson, *Carlyle*, v. 69.
[5] Letter to his wife, 29 July 1858, Bliss, pp. 331-2 ; letters to Dr. John Carlyle, 26 November 1870 and 13 May 1871, *New Letters*, ii. 272-3, 278-9.

patched and soiled apparel with his apron and *sabots* were hanging at his head; and there fixed in his iron slumber, heedless of the vain din that rolled around him on every side, was this poor outcast stretched in silence and darkness forever. I gazed upon the wretch for a quarter of an hour; I think I never felt more shocked in my life.[1]

As Carlyle paints the picture, the death of the artisan is merely the last stroke in a long suggestion of blows by which the struggling man was beaten back and denied the possibility of fulfilling himself as a human being. It is well to note here, furthermore, that the many important questions which Carlyle raised concerning modern industrialized society have to do largely with its dehumanizing tendencies.

The touch which counts for most in Carlyle's portraits, however, is a magic one which defies analysis. With it he makes us suddenly aware that his subject belongs not to the earth merely but is a creature of infinitude, staring out at us from a strange, mysterious place where immensity and eternity meet. We are filled with awe and wonder, and exclaim with Hamlet: "What a piece of work is man!" This gift for suggesting the close conjunction of the natural with the supernatural seems to have been born in Carlyle. It operated in his treatment of places as well as of persons. It sometimes frightened him. He wrote in 1843:

Sure enough I have a fatal talent of converting all Nature into Preternaturalism for myself: a truly horrible Phantasm-Reality it is to me; what of heavenly radiances it has, blended in close neighbourhood, in intimate union, with the hideousness of Death and Chaos;—a very ghastly business indeed.[2]

[1] Letter to Jane Welsh, 28 October 1824 (*Love Letters*, ii. 28).

[2] Letter to Emerson, 31 October 1843 (*Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, ii. 40). In a review of Carlyle's *Cromwell*, J. B. Mozeley wrote: "Mr. Carlyle's Reality is a magnificent abstraction; it refuses to be caught and grasped, and will give no account of itself for the satisfaction of sublunary and practical curiosity. It wages an eternal war with shadows; it is a disperser of phantoms; lies flee before it; formulae shudder at its approach. This is all we know of its nature and its characteristics. It carries on a great aerial battle nobody knows where; and teaches with sublime infallibility nobody knows what." In the *Christian Remembrancer*, xi (1846), 243 ff., *Sartor Resartus* is in considerable part a probing into the complex nature of reality. So are *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote*, of course; and it is a significant fact that the Carlyles read and quoted Shakespeare constantly and were reading Cervantes in the Spanish during the period of incubation for *Sartor*. For this aspect of *Don Quixote*, see Richard L. Predmore, "El Problema de la Realidad en el *Quyote*" (*Nueva Revista de Filologia Hispanica*, vii (1953), 489-98.)

But this very gift accounts for the splendidly luminous quality of his portraits of Coleridge in his *Sterling* and of Jeffrey and Jane Welsh Carlyle in the *Reminiscences*. It suggests, furthermore, a scale of values which refused to come to terms with the prevailing science, industrialism, and materialism. In the words of one of his contemporaries, "The marvels of industry did not awe him, the progress of humanity he did not place in the triumphs of matter; in his eyes a man was a man only on condition of being a tabernacle of the living God".[1] The shadows which are so important in Carlyle's portraits, as in Rembrandt's, not merely suggest depth but reveal to us earthly creatures partaking of eternity and infinitude.

The importance of Carlyle's work in handing down to posterity portraits of his contemporaries cannot be exaggerated. The scope and range of the gallery of Victorian portraits which he has bequeathed to us are tremendous. He was consciously trying to do for those of us who come after him what he wished had always been done for him by those who came before him. His portraits vary greatly not only according to their subjects but also in the methods which he used in dealing with them. Some are made up merely of a bold stroke or two, with charcoal on white paper. Many others are more full and complex but are in the brief, bright, compact manner of Chaucer's *Prologue*. In this group we find portraits of Lady Holland, William Godwin, Samuel Rogers, Robert Southey, Sir James Stephen, Thiers, Daniel Webster, Hartley Coleridge, Bronson Alcott, Mazzini, Gladstone, Disraeli, and many others. A third group of portraits is that dealing with subjects who completely fascinated him or who had gripped his mind, imagination, and emotions strongly. These portraits, much fuller than any of the others, he returned to again and again through his various published writings and letters. These portraits are thus composites of passages which he wrote through the years as his mind returned to them and his experience presented them to him from time to time in a fresh light. Such are his splendid portraits of his own father, James Carlyle, of Jane Welsh Carlyle, of Edward Irving, of Francis Jeffrey, of S. T. Coleridge, of John Sterling, of Brown-

[1] Wylie, p. 372.

ing, of Dickens, of Emerson, of Leigh Hunt, of Macaulay, of J. S. Mill, of Ruskin, of Thackeray, of Tennyson, of Wordsworth, and of Queen Victoria. Those who jump to the conclusion that Carlyle's portraits always lack charity, are distorted by prejudice, or are hostile toward the Romantics should study the careful discrimination and remarkable balance in the portraits of Irving, Jeffrey, and Sterling, and the affectionate tolerance and warm friendliness which run through the many sketches of Leigh Hunt. We may be willing to forgive Carlyle for much when we remember that he could appreciate Jeffrey and could love Leigh Hunt. But perhaps we may most appropriately and pleasantly end this examination of his work as a portrait painter with our eyes resting upon some selected bits which compose his picture of his Queen:

12 April 1838

Yesterday, going through one of the Parks, I saw the poor little Queen. She was in an open carriage, preceded by three or four swift red-coated troopers; all off for Windsor just as I happened to pass. Another carriage or carriages followed with maids-of-honour, etc.: the whole drove very fast. It seemed to me the poor little Queen was a bit modest, nice sonsy little lassie; blue eyes, light hair, fine white skin; of extremely small stature; she looked timid, anxious, almost frightened; for the people looked at her in perfect silence; one old livery man alone touched his hat to her: I was heartily sorry for the poor bairn,—tho' perhaps she might have said as Parson Swan did, "*Greet* [weep] not for me, brethren; for verily, yea verily, I greet not for mysel'." It is a strange thing to look at the fashion of this world.[1]

6 July 1838

The [Coronation] Procession was all gilding, velvet and grandeur; the poor little Queen seems to have been *greeting* [weeping]; one could not but wish the poor little lassie well: she is small, sonsy and modest—and has the ugliest task I should say, of all girls in these Isles.[2]

1838

Poor Queen! She is much to be pitied. She is at an age when she would hardly be trusted with the choosing of a bonnet, and she is called to a task from which an archangel might have shrunk.[3]

11 February 1840

Yesterday the idle portion of the Town was in a sort of flurry owing to the marriage of little Queen Victory. I had to go out to breakfast with an ancient Notable of this place, one named Rogers, the Poet and Banker; my way lay

[1] Letter to his mother (*New Letters*, i. 118).
[2] Letter to his sister, Mrs. Aitken (ibid. p. 131).
[3] At a dinner given by Milnes, Wilson (*Carlyle*, iii. 47).

past little Victory's Palace, and a perceptible crowd was gathering there even then, which went on increasing all the time till I returned (about one o'clock); streams of idle *gomerils* flowing from all quarters, to see one knows not what,—perhaps Victory's gilt coach and other gilt coaches drive out, for that would be all! It was a wet day too, of bitter heavy showers and abundant mud: I steered, by a small circuit, out of their road altogether, and except the clanking of some bells in the after part of the day, heard no more of it. Poor little thing, I wish her marriage all prosperity too. . . . As for him [Prince Albert], they say he is a sensible lad; which circumstance may be of much service to him: he burst into tears, in leaving his little native Coburg, a small quiet Town, like Annan for example; poor fellow, he thought I suppose how he was bidding adieu to *quiet* there, and would probably never know *it* more, what else he might know.[1]

13 August 1842 (at a troublesome time when the Queen was being shot at)

I stept down . . . to look at the Queen for an instant. She did pass, she and Albert, looking very much frightened, red in the face; but none shot at the poor little thing; some even gave a kind of encouraging cheer.[2]

11 March 1869

The Stanleys and we were all in a flow of talk [at the Westminster Deanery, Thursday, March 4, 5:00 p.m.], and some flunkies had done setting coffee-pots, tea-cups of sublime patterns, when Her Majesty, punctual to the minute, glided softly in, escorted by her Dame in waiting (a Dowager Duchess of Athol), and by the Princess Louise, decidedly a very pretty young lady, and *clever* too, as I found in speaking to her afterwards.

The Queen came softly forward, a kindly little smile on her face; gently shook hands with all three women, gently acknowledged with a nod the silent deep bow of us male monsters; and directly in her presence everybody was as if at ease again. She is a comely little lady, with a pair of kind clear and intelligent grey eyes; still looks plump and almost young (in spite of one broad wrinkle that shows in each cheek *occasionally*); has a fine soft low voice; soft indeed her whole manner is and melodiously perfect; it is impossible to imagine a *politer* little woman. Nothing the least imperious; all gentle, all *sincere*-looking unembarrassing, rather attractive even;—*makes* you feel too (if you have sense in you) that she is Queen. . . .

Coffee fairly done, Lady Augusta [Stanley] called me gently to "come and speak with Her Majesty". I obeyed, first asking, as an old infirmish man, Majesty's permission to *sit*, which was graciously conceded. Nothing of the least significance was said, nor *needed;* however my bit of dialogue went very well. . . . All of which Her Majesty seemed to take rather well. . . .

Majesty herself (I think apropos of some question of my *shaking hand*) said something about her own difficulty in writing by dictation, which brought forward Lady Lyell and Husband, mutually used to the operation. After which, talk becoming trivial, Majesty gracefully retired,—Lady Augusta with her.[3]

[1] Letter to his mother (*New Letters*, i. 185).

[2] Letter to his wife (Bliss, pp. 150-1). For a charming account of a meeting between Carlyle and Prince Albert, see Carlyle's letter to his sister, Mrs. Aitken, 10 November 1854 (*New Letters*, ii. 167-9).

[3] To Mrs. Aitken (ibid. pp. 252-5).

15 March 1869

The Queen was really very gracious and pretty in her demeanour throughout; rose greatly in my esteem by everything that happened; did not fall in any point. The interview was quietly very mournful to me; the one point of real interest, a somber thought: "Alas! how it would have cheered her [his wife, who had died 21 April 1866], bright soul, for my sake, had she been there!"[1]

[1] Froude, *Carlyle in London*, ii. 380. See also Duffy, p. 229.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(List of Books presented to the Library by the Publisher or the Author)

GENERAL WORKS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, ART, Etc.

African Sculpture and Christian Sculpture from the collection of *Irma Stern*, with an introduction by *John Paris*. Cape Town, National Gallery of South Africa, 1955. 4to, pp. 8. *Wrappers. Illustrated.*

The Architecture of Manchester. An index of the principal buildings and their architects, 1800-1900. Compiled by *Cecil Stewart* with the assistance of the staff of the Reference Library, Manchester. Manchester, Libraries Committee, 1956. 4to, pp. 58. *Wrappers.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Bybliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Manu Scripti Recensiti. Codices Vaticani Hebraici. Codices 1-115. Recensuit *Humbertus Cassuto*. Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1956. 4to, pp. 199. *Wrappers.*

A Catalogue of Books in the Bristol Reference Library which were printed abroad in languages other than English during the years 1473 to 1700. Bristol, The Corporation, 1956. 8vo, pp. 194. *Illustrated.* 30*s.*

Chapbooks and Garlands in the *Robert White* Collection in the Library of King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. By *Desmond Sparling Bland*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, [King's College Library Publication, 3], 1956. 8vo, pp. 32. *Wrappers. Facsimiles.* 9*s.*

The City Libraries of Sheffield, 1856-1956. Sheffield, Libraries, Art Galleries and Museums Committee, [1956]. 8vo, pp. 58. *Illustrated.*

Courtauld Institute of Art. Bibliography of the History of British Art. Vol. VI, 1946-1948, parts i, ii. Cambridge, University Press, 1956. 8vo, pp. xxix, 424. *Wrappers.* 42*s.*

Le Déménagement d'une Bibliothèque Semi-Publique : un problème de bibliothéconomie. *Marc Dykmans*. Louvain, Éditions de la Bibliothèque S.J., 1956. 8vo, pp. 20. *Wrappers. Fr.b.* 40.

Handritade Kartor över Sverige i Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek. Katalog av *Åke Davidsson*. Uppsala, Universitet [Acta, 10], 1956. 8vo, pp. 136. *Wrappers. Illustrated. Kr.* 25.

Nils Holgerssons Underbara Resa Genom Sverige. Av *Selma Lagerlöf*. November 1906-November 1956. Katalog upprättad av *Nils Afzelius* över en utställning i Kungliga biblioteket. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket [Utställningskatalog, 8], [1956]. 8vo, pp. 51. *Wrappers. Illustrated. Kr.* 2.

Oats : their cultivation and use from ancient times to the present day. By *William M. Findlay*. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd [Aberdeen University Studies, 137], [1956]. 8vo, pp. xi, 207. *Portrait.* 21*s.*

Proceedings of the British Academy, 1955. London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, [1956]. 8vo, pp. xii, 371. *Illustrated.*

REMBRANDT. TENTOONSTELLING ter herdenking van de geboorte van Rembrandt op 15 Juli 1606. Tekeningen. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1956. 8vo, pp. 186, 72. *Wrappers. Illustrated.*

ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. CATALOGUE OF INCUNABULA. St. Andrews, the University Court [St. Andrews University Publications, 53], 1956. 4to, pp. 101, ff. vi. *Facsimiles.* 21*s.*

STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN. DURCH VIER JAHRTAUSENDE ALTVORDERASIATISCHER KULTUR. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, 1956. 8vo, pp. 243. *Wrappers. Illustrated.*

STEPHEN CRANE, 1871-1900. An exhibition of his writings held in the Columbia University Libraries, September 17-November 30, 1956. Arranged and described by *Joan H. Baum.* With appendixes contributing to the bibliography of *Stephen Crane.* New York, Columbia University Libraries, [1956]. 8vo, pp. 61. *Wrappers. Illustrated.*

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS in die lig van die antieke geskiedskrywing. Door *Charl Pierre Theron Naudé.* Lieden, Drukkerij "Luctor et Emergo", [1956]. 8vo, pp. 144. *Wrappers.*

BRIEFWISSELING TUSSEN J. VAN DEN BOSCH EN J. C. BAUD, 1829-1832 en 1834-1836. Uitgegeven door *J. J. Westendorp Boerma.* Eerste (tweede) deel. Utrecht, Kemink en Zoon N.V. [Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, 3e serie, 80, 81], 1956. 2vols. 8vo. *Wrappers.*

CHAIR, SCEPTRE AND WREATH: historical aspects of their representation on some Roman sepulchral monuments. Door *Jan Willem Salomonson.* Amsterdam, E. Harms, [1956]. 8vo, pp. 129. *Wrappers. Illustrated.*

CYRENAICAN EXPEDITION of the University of Manchester, 1952. *Alan Rowe, Derek Buttle, John Gray.* Manchester, University Press, [1956]. 4to, pp. xi, 59. *Illustrated.* 25s.

HARRY DEXTER WHITE, loyal American. By *Nathan I. White.* Waban, Mass., Bessie (White) Bloom, [1956]. 8vo, pp. 415.

HIPPOLOGICA ACCADICA: eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung . . . von *Armas Salonen.* Helsinki, [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Ser. B, 100], 1955. 8vo, pp. 318, xx. *Wrappers. Illustrated.*

DAS HUMANISTISCHE BILDUNGSGUT im Wandel von Staat und Gesellschaft. Festrede von *Franz Schnabel.* München, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956. 8vo, pp. 90. *Wrappers.*

JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS. Vol. 31. 1754-1755. Published at the charge of the W. B. H. Dowse Fund. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1956. 8vo, pp. xii, 313. *Facsimile reprint.*

LIBER EXTIMATIONUM, il Libro degli Estimi, an. MCCLXIX, pubblicato per cura di Olof Brattö. Göteborg, Almqvist & Wiksell [Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift, 62, ii], 1956. 8vo, pp. 163. *Wrappers. Facsimiles. Kr.* 25.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

L'Apophonie en Indo-Européen. *Jerzy Kuryłowicz.* Wrocław, Polska Akademia Nauk [Prace Językoznawcze, 9], [1956]. 8vo, pp. 430. *Wrappers. Zł.* 41.50.

Estudios Sobre el Roman de Renard, su relacion con los cuentos españoles y extranjeros. *Juan Nogues.* Salamanca, Universidad [Acta Salmanticensia: Filosofía y Letras, 9, ii], 1956. 8vo, pp. 266. *Wrappers.*

Finnish Grammar. *John Atkinson.* Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, [1956]. 8vo, pp. 131. *Wrappers.*

The Frontiers of Criticism. A lecture by *T. S. Eliot* delivered at the University of Minnesota Williams Arena on April 30, 1956. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota [Gideon D. Seymour Memorial Lecture Series], [1956]. 8vo, pp. 20. *Wrappers.*

Janus Lernutius, 1545-1619, een biografische studie. Door *H. van Crombruggen.* Brussel, Paleis der Academiën [Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie. Klasse der Letteren. Verhandelingen, 23], 1955. 8vo, pp. 209. *Wrappers.*

John Heywood's Works and Miscellaneous Short Poems. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by *Burton A. Milligan.* Urbana, University of Illinois Press [Studies in Language and Literature, 41], 1956. 8vo, pp. xi, 297. *Wrappers.* $3.50.

Magazine Serials and the Essay Tradition, 1746-1820. By *Melvin R. Watson.* Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press [Studies: Humanities Series, 6], [1956]. 8vo, pp. viii, 160. *Wrappers.* $3.00.

The Old English Verbs of Vision: a semantic study. By *Erkki Penttilä.* Helsinki, Société Néophilologique [Mémoires, 18, i], 1956. 8vo, pp. 209. *Wrappers.*

Phonological Tendencies in Estonian. By *Valter Tauli.* København, Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab [Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, 36, i], 1956. 8vo, pp. 231. *Wrappers. Map. Kr.* 40.

Primeras Jornadas de Lengua y Literatura Hispanoamericana: comunicaciones y ponencias. Salamanca, Universidad [Acta Salmanticensia: Filosofía y Letras, 10, i, ii], 1956. 2 vols. 8vo. *Wrappers.*

Samuel Johnson, Editor of Shakespeare, with an essay on The Adventurer. *Arthur Sherbo.* Urbana, University of Illinois Press [Studies in Language and Literature, 42], 1956. 8vo, pp. xi, 181. *Wrappers.* $3.00.

Smollett's Hoax: Don Quixote in English. By *Carmine Rocco Linsalata.* Stanford, Cal., University Press [University Series: Language and Literature, 14], 1956. 8vo, pp. ix, 116. *Wrappers.* $2.75.

The Themes of Henry James: a system of observation through the visual arts. By *Edwin T. Bowden.* New Haven, Yale University Press [Yale Studies in English, 132], 1956. 8vo, pp. xiii, 117. $3.00.

Three Centuries of French Verse, 1511-1819. *A. J. Steele.* Edinburgh, University Press [Publications: Language and Literature Texts, 4], 1956. 8vo, pp. xxxvii, 314. 15*s.*

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

DESCARTES IN DER AUFFASSUNG DURCH DIE HISTORIKER DER PHILOSOPHIE: zur Geschichte der neuzeitlichen Philosophiegeschichte. Von *Moritz Hagmann.* Winterthur, Verlag P. G. Keller, 1955. 8vo, pp. vi, 195. *Wrappers. Portrait.*

THE EVALUATION OF PLEASURE IN PLATO'S ETHICS. By *Jussi Tenkku.* Helsinki, Societas Philosophica [Acta Philosophica Fennica, Fasc. 11], 1956. 8vo, pp. 234. *Wrappers.*

THE FAITH OF ISRAEL: aspects of Old Testament thought. The James Sprunt lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 1955, by *H. H. Rowley.* London, S.C.M. Press Ltd., [1956]. 8vo, pp. 220. 18*s.*

JEWISH RELIGIOUS POLEMIC of early and later centuries, a study of documents here rendered in English by *Oliver Shaw Rankin.* Edinburgh, University Press [Publications: Language and Literature, 9], 1956. 8vo, pp. viii, 256. 18*s.*

DER LOGOS AM KREUZ: zur christologischen Symbolik der älteren Kreuzigungsdarstellung. *Aloys Grillmeier.* München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1956. 8vo, pp. xii, 150. *Illustrated.*

ORDERICUS VITALIS: ein Beitrag zur kluniazensischen Geschichtsschreibung. Von *Hans Wolter.* Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 7], 1955. 8vo, pp. viii, 252.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE SUMMA THEOLOGICA OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS. By *Mary Cecelia Wheeler.* Washington, Catholic University of America Press [Philosophical Studies, 169], 1956. 8vo, pp. ix, 109. *Wrappers.* $1.25.

PROBLEMS IN NASIR-I KHUSRAW'S BIOGRAPHY. By *W. Ivanow.* Bombay, Ismaili Society [Ismaili Society Series B, 10], 1956. 8vo, pp. xiv, 88. 5*s.*

THE REALITY OF SUBSTANCE. By *Robert E. McCall.* Washington, Catholic University of America Press [Philosophical Studies, 168], 1956. 8vo, pp. xiv, 202. *Wrappers.* $2.25.

SOME UNPUBLISHED PIYYUṬIM FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH. Reconstructed, revocalized and translated with critical notes by *Meir Wallenstein.* Manchester, University Press [Publications of the Faculty of Arts, 8], [1956]. 4to, pp. xiv, 123. *Facsimiles.* 21*s.*

THEOLOGISCHE ERKENNTNISLEHRE. Versuch dogmatischer Prolegomena. *Hendrik Van Oyen.* Zürich, Zwingli-Verlag [Studien zur Dogmengeschichte und systematischen Theologie, 6], 1955. 8vo, pp. 244. *Wrappers.*

DE WEG VAN HET WOORD: het evangelie naar Johannes. Door *E. L. Smelik.* Nijkerk, G. F. Callenbach N.V. [De Prediking van het Nieuwe Testament, 4], 1956. 8vo, pp. 303. *Facsimile.*

WHAT THE HOLINESS PEOPLE BELIEVE: a mid-century review of Holiness teaching. By *Jack Ford.* Birkenhead, Emmanuel Bible College and Missions [J. D. Drysdale Memorial Lectures], [n.d.]. 8vo, pp. 70. *Wrappers.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

WINSTON CHURCHILL ON JEWISH PROBLEMS: a half-century survey. By *Oskar K. Rabinowicz.* London, Lincolns-Prager Ltd., for the World Jewish Congress, British Section, [1956]. 8vo, pp. 231. 15*s.*

SOCIOLOGY

L'ANTHROPONYMIE ET LA DIPLOMATIQUE. Par *Olof Brattö*. Göteborg, Almqvist & Wiksell [Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift, 62, iii], 1956. 8vo, pp. 27. *Wrappers*. *Kr.* 5.

BURMA IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS. Door *Maung Maung*. Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Djambatan, [1956]. 8vo, pp. xi, 236. *Wrappers*.

THE CULTURE AND ACCULTURATION OF THE DELAWARE INDIANS. By *William W. Newcomb, jr.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan [Museum of Anthropology. Anthropological Papers, 10], 1956. 8vo, pp. 141. *Wrappers*. *Map*. $2.00.

AN ETHNOLOGICAL SKETCH OF RENNELL ISLAND: a Polynesian outlier in Melanesia. By *Kaj Birket-Smith*. København, Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab [Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, 35, iii], 1956. 8vo, pp. 222. *Wrappers*. *Map*. *Kr.* 40.

HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA. Editors *J. Clyde Mitchell, Elizabeth Colson* and *Max Gluckman*. Manchester, University Press [Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 20], 1956. 8vo, pp. 79. *Wrappers*. *Map*. 5*s*.

THE MAKING OF AN ADMINISTRATOR. Contributors: *Sir Edward Bridges; D. K. Clarke; L. F. Urwick; Sir Harold Banwell; Sir Henry Self*. With a foreword by the *Earl of Iddesleigh*. Edited by *A. Dunsire*. Manchester, University Press, on behalf of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, South West of England Regional Group, [1956]. 8vo, pp. xv, 125. 10*s*. 6*d*.

THE NATURE OF AFRICAN CUSTOMARY LAW. By *T. Olawale Elias*. Manchester, University Press, [1956]. 8vo, pp. xii, 318. 30*s*.

DIE NEDERLANDSE EMIGRASIE NA SUID-AFRIKA: sekere aspekte rakende voorbereiding tot aanpassing. Door *André Pieter Du Plessis*. Amsterdam, Teerhuis & Klinkenberg, [1956]. 8vo, pp. 250. *Wrappers*.

NOTES D'ANTHROPONYMIE MESSINE. Par *Olof Brattö*. Göteborg, Almqvist & Wiksell [Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift, 62, iv], 1956. 8vo, pp. 57. *Wrappers*. *Kr.* 10.

PERSONALITY IN A COMMUNAL SOCIETY: an analysis of the mental health of the Hutterites. By *Bert Kaplan* and *Thomas F. A. Plaut*. Lawrence, University of Kansas [Publications: Social Science Studies, 1956], [1956]. 8vo, pp. xi, 116. *Wrappers*. $2.50.

QUASI-DOMICILE: an historical study. By *William Thompson*. St. Meinrad, Indiana, The Abbey Press, 1956. 8vo, pp. viii, 110. *Wrappers*.

A SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE AFRICAN POPULATION OF LIVINGSTONE. By *Merran McCulloch*. Manchester, University Press [Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 26], [1956]. 8vo, pp. x, 82. *Wrappers*. *Maps*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

DER SPÄTE LIST: ein Beitrag zur Grundlegung der Wissenschaft von der Politik und zur politischen Ökonomie als Gestaltungslehre der Wirtschaft. Von *Georg Weippert*. Erlangen, Universitätsbund [Erlanger Forschungen. Reihe A, 7], 1956. 8vo, pp. 90. *Wrappers*. *DM*. 8.00.

LA THÉORIE DES QUALIFICATIONS en droit international privé. *François Rigaux*. Bruxelles, Éditions F. Larcier S.A., 1956. 8vo, pp. 529. *Wrappers*.